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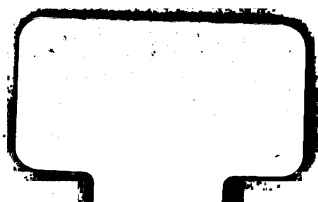
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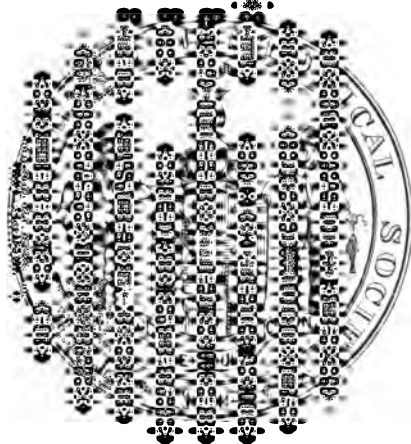




MARYLAND, INDEPENDENCE,
AND THE
CONFEDERATION.

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MARYLAND, INDEPENDENCE, AND THE CONFEDERATION.

THE three topics that occupied the most prominent place in the deliberations of the Continental Congress before the Declaration of Independence, and the three that were of the most vital importance to the colonies as a whole, were those of political independence from the mother country, of foreign alliances, and of armed resistance to the arbitrary measures enacted by the British Parliament and backed up by British arms.

A brief portrayal of Maryland's share in the execution of these three great objects may serve a useful purpose in enabling one the better to appreciate Maryland's influence in the formation of the Confederation and the Union.

I.

MARYLAND AND INDEPENDENCE.

In attempting to trace the continuity of history it is not well, especially in so limited a paper as

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this, to penetrate too far into the mists of antiquity; for the task of searching out the "first causes" of human conduct, as well as of the phenomena of nature, lies within the domain of speculative philosophy, and not of philosophic history. I shall, therefore, begin this relation of Maryland's influence upon American independence with an account of her attitude toward the first *immediate* cause of the Revolution—the Stamp Act of 1765.

In 1762, before the close of the French and Indian War, in consequence of the bold stand taken by the Maryland Assembly against the arbitrary demand of the proprietary, governor, minister, parliament, and general, to furnish supplies for the conduct of that war, the king expressed his stern displeasure at the "obstinate disobedience" of the Assembly of Maryland, and censured its members as not "animated by a sense of their duty to their king and country." This reproof was administered, Egremont wrote, "not to change their opinion," but "that they may not deceive themselves by supposing that their behavior is not seen here in its *true light*." Thus when Maryland entered upon her energetic resistance to the Stamp Act, it was not the first time she had braved the British Lion and heard him growl; nor could she plead for her rebellious acts the immunity of a first offence. But when news reached the colony that the duties on stamped paper had been extended to America, there

was no hesitation as to the manner in which the odious act should be received. Meetings were held in every part of the province, and the people expressed their detestation of the act and their unalterable determination that it should never be carried into effect, not only by bold and decided resolutions against it, but also by acts of violence against the persons and property of its supporters. The freemen of Talbot county erected a gibbet before the door of the court house, twenty feet high, and hanged on it the effigy of a stamp informer in chains, "in terrorem," until the Stamp Act should be repealed; and they resolved unanimously to hold in utter contempt and abhorrence every stamp officer and every favorer of the Stamp Act, and "to have no communication with any such, not even to speak to him, unless to upbraid him with his baseness." The effigy of Zachariah Hood, the officer appointed for the distribution of the stamps in Maryland, was paraded, whipped, burned, hung, tarred and feathered, buried, and treated with every sort of contumely in Baltimore, Frederick, Annapolis, Elk Ridge, and other towns of the province. Nor did this unhappy stamp distributor escape with mere punishment by proxy; his house at Annapolis was torn down, and he himself was forced to flee for protection from the irate Maryland populace to General Gage in the city of New York. But here also he felt the power of

American public opinion, now so thoroughly aroused ; 'the Sons of Liberty of New York determined that, since " Mr. Hood had, by his flight, deprived his country of that justice it had a right to demand of him—the resignation of an office calculated to enslave them "—he should not evade that resignation while within their reach ; they accordingly forced him to resign his office and to promise never to undertake the duty again.

It was not by riotous measures alone that Maryland expressed her disapprobation of the tyrannical act. Daniel Dulany of Annapolis, confessedly the most distinguished lawyer America had produced, published a treatise entitled, "Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes on the British Colonies, for the purpose of Raising a Revenue, by Acts of Parliament." In this treatise Dulany proved conclusively the utter illegality of the Stamp Act, and by it he was at once placed in the foremost rank of the champions of the colonies in their struggle against taxes imposed upon them, without their consent, by the British Parliament. His prominence is shown by the fact that William Pitt, in Parliament, took honorable notice of his words, and adopted them as the ground-work of his own reasoning ; and his cogent arguments were undoubtedly of great influence in effecting the final repeal of the act whose illegality he so clearly proved.

He struck the key-note of the true Revolutionary spirit when he declared "that a garment of linsey-woolsey, when made the distinction of patriotism, is more honorable than the plumes and the diadem of an emperor without it. Let the manufacture of America be the symbol of dignity and the badge of virtue, and it will soon break the fetters of distress." However culpable may have been Dulany's reticence in the actual events of the Revolution, we may believe, with McMahon, that it was owing neither to opposition to the rights of America, nor to a servile submission to the views of the ministry; and "that, had he not been thrown into collision with the leaders of the war in Maryland, by the proclamation controversy, and thus involved in a discussion with them which excited high resentment on both sides, and kept him at a distance from them until the Revolution began, he would, most probably, have been found by their side, in support of the measures which led to it." (McMahon, I, 357.)

But opposition to the Stamp Act was not confined to individual writers and unofficial assemblies alone. One of the instructions given by the free-holders and freemen of Anne Arundel county to their delegates to the State Assembly "enjoined and required" them to use their "earnest endeavors,"—"I. That our essential inherent rights, and constitutional privileges, derived to us as British subjects, from the clear fountain of the British laws—

declared and confirmed to us by our charter—and the usages and customs of our province, be clearly and distinctly expressed and asserted by you in General Assembly. . . .

“ II. That a committee be appointed early in the session by your House, and furnished with due instructions, to attend at the congress to be held at New York, the first day of next month [October 1, 1765], there to meet the commissioners from the other provinces on the continent, agreeable with the proposal in the Massachusetts circular letter, in order to confer on the circumstances of our country, and join in an humble and dutiful petition to his majesty for relief from the Stamp Act, with its numerous train of complicated evils ; and for redress of all our other grievances. . . .”

The first act of the General Assembly, when it was finally summoned by the governor, was to appoint three delegates to the congress to be held at New York, on the 7th of October, 1765, and to provide them with suitable instructions to present a petition to the king and British Parliament, praying “relief from the burdens and restraints lately laid upon the trade and commerce of the British colonies, and especially from the taxes imposed by the Stamp Act, whereby they are deprived, in some instances, of that invaluable privilege of Englishmen and British subjects—trials by juries ; and to take care that such representation should humbly

and decently, but expressly, contain an assertion of the right of the colonists, to be exempt from all and every taxations and impositions upon their persons and property, to which they do not consent in a legislative way, either by themselves or their representatives freely chosen and appointed." The three delegates appointed to this congress were Colonel Edward Tilghman of Queen Anne's, William Murdock of Prince George's, and Thomas Ringgold of Kent, who seem to have taken a prominent and useful part in the actions of that body; William Murdock was a member of the committee that prepared an address to the king, and Col. Tilghman of that which drafted the Memorial to the House of Lords.

The Maryland Assembly in this same session also promulgated a series of eight Declarations "which," says Scharf, "from their dignified tone and the unanimity with which they were adopted, form one of the proudest pages of Maryland's history" (I, 538).

This same Assembly, in a later session, rebuked the governor for his delay in convening them at a period when they were desirous to unite with their fellow citizens in the other colonies, in the preservation of their rights; refused to give him their advice, as requested by him, concerning the disposal of a cargo of stamped paper which was intended for the colony—the members asserting that it was "not

agreeable to the sentiments of their constituents to give him any advice upon the subject ; ” and, on the day after the Stamp Act should have gone into effect (November 2, 1765), the Assembly appointed a “ committee of grievances and courts of justice to inspect the form of the oaths of office, that have been, and now are usually taken by the several magistrates, and if the following clause be not inserted in the said oath,” it was declared and resolved to be necessary, viz.: “ To do equal law and right to all the king’s subjects, rich and poor ; and not to delay any person of common right, for the letters of the king, the Lord Proprietary, or of any other, or for any other cause ; but if any such letters come to them, they shall proceed to do the law, the same letters notwithstanding.” Truly, here is a declaration of legislative independence as distinct and emphatic as the far famed one of eleven years later !

In pursuance of this policy, so boldly announced, we find stated in the *Maryland Gazette* of December 10, 1765, that at “ the last court in Frederick county, the magistrates taking into consideration the bad consequences that would attend a stop being put to the ordinary course of justice, if any notice was taken of the Stamp Act (which had never been legally transmitted to them), they, in a very full court, *unanimously resolved and ordered*, that all the business and process of that court

should be transacted in the usual manner *without stamps*, and that such proceedings should be good and valid. The clerk of the court, apprehending damage to himself if he made any entry, or issued any process without stamped paper, refused to comply with the order of the court; upon which the court ordered him to be committed to prison for contempt. He then submitted, and was discharged, and proceeded on business as formerly."

Nor did the Marylanders stop here in proving to all concerned that they knew their rights, and that they meant to assert and maintain them in the most direct and effective manner possible. The Sons of Liberty of Baltimore and Anne Arundel counties, and the deputies of those of Kent, assembled on the 1st of March, 1766, at Annapolis, and made requisition upon the chief justice of the provincial court, the secretary of the province, the commissary general, and the judges of the land office, on pain of compulsion, to open their respective offices on the 31st of March, or earlier, if a majority of the supreme courts of the northern colonies should proceed in their business before that period. This requisition being peremptorily refused, the Sons assembled again on the day fixed by them, and insisted so emphatically upon their demand being granted that the provincial court yielded, and, after receiving a written indemnification for its action, passed the following order: "It is by the court here

ordered that the clerk of this court, from henceforth, issue all manner of process, file all pleadings, give copies, and transact all business whatsoever, in his office, for which application shall be made to him by any inhabitant of this province, as usual, *without stamped paper.*" This order was at once complied with by the clerk and other public officers, and thus, one month and a half before the official notification of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received at Annapolis, the Marylanders had forced the supreme court of their province to declare the act absolutely *null and void*.

Hardly had the exultation over the repeal of the Stamp Act subsided, when Parliament resorted to a measure as arbitrary as, and still more odious to the Americans than, the one just annulled ; on June 29, 1767, a duty on various articles, including *tea*, was imposed, which was to go into effect November 20, of the same year.

The Maryland Assembly, on hearing that such an act was intended, declared, before their prorogation which shortly followed, that " life without liberty is worse than death," and took steps to preserve that liberty from such an attack.¹

The Assembly was not again convened until May 24, 1768, when it at once took into consideration the circular letter of Massachusetts requesting the col-

¹ Namely, by taking up a collection to support an agent to represent them in London.

onies to coöperate for the repeal of the late acts of Parliament. Aware of the governor's instructions to prorogue or dissolve them if they showed a disposition to receive this letter favorably, the House prepared all their plans, and then replied to the governor's message (that they should "treat the letter with the contempt it deserved, by taking no notice of it") as follows: "We hope the conduct of this house will ever evince their reverence and respect for the laws, and faithful attachment to the Constitution; but we cannot be brought to resent an exertion of the most undoubted constitutional right of petitioning the Throne, or any endeavors to procure and preserve an Union of the Colonies, as an unjustifiable attempt to revive those distractions which it is said have operated so fatally to the prejudice of both the colonies and the mother country. We have the warmest and most affectionate attachment to our most gracious sovereign, and shall ever pay the readiest and most respectful regard to the *just* and *constitutional* power of the British Parliament; but we shall not be *intimidated* by a few *sounding expressions* from doing what we think is right." The next day the House sent a reply to the Massachusetts circular, in which they fully concurred in the opinion that the statutes referred to "do infringe the great fundamental principle that no man can be taxed, but with his own consent, given by himself, or his representative."

This reply caused their prompt prorogation, but not before they had promulgated a set of resolutions against the obnoxious measures, which for conclusiveness of argument and fearless assertion of rights will compare favorably with any other of the time.

Maryland also joined—June 20, 1769—with the other colonies in forming a strict non-importation agreement, and, in spite of wavering in other places, maintained it vigorously up to the breaking out of the war. She even administered a rebuke to Virginia for having fallen away from her non-importation agreement, passed resolutions to break off all commercial relations with New York, pursued the same course in regard to Rhode Island, for the same reason, and in a number of instances sent ships back to England, having refused to receive their cargoes.

The times were rife with disputes ; no sooner had the Maryland Assembly expressed her defiance of England, than it became involved in a fierce contest with the proprietary governor over an attempt arbitrarily to extend his prerogative ; the matters now at issue were an export duty on tobacco and the regulation of official salaries by proclamation. The contest was not confined to a war of words in the Houses of Assembly, for the press and people took the matter up and carried it on by means of essays, speeches, and “fistic” arguments, with the

utmost spirit and, unfortunately, rancor. Charles Carroll of Carrollton first took a prominent part in public affairs at this time, and one of his declarations that "In a land of freedom this arbitrary exertion of prerogative will not, must not, be endured," became widely celebrated, and was used as the patriots' battle-cry of the early Revolution.

And now this battle-cry of freedom as well as all others, was to be in instant requisition; the Revolution, so long looming up threateningly in the political horizon, was about to materialize; and Maryland showed herself ready for the fray. When the act of the 10th of May, 1774, closed the port of Boston, Maryland promptly conveyed messages of sympathy and more practical means of support to the invested city. Baltimore resolved "That . . . the town of Boston is now suffering in the common cause of America, and that it is the duty of every colony in America to unite in the most effectual means to obtain" redress for her. And in a letter conveying this resolution, with a number of others, to Boston, Baltimore's Committee of Correspondence said: "Although the gentlemen of Philadelphia have recommended a general congress for proceeding by petition or remonstrance, we cannot see the least ground for expecting relief by it. The contempt with which a similar petition was treated in 1765, and many others since that period, convince us that policy or reasons of state,

instead of justice and equity, are to prescribe the rule of our future conduct, and that something more sensible than supplications will best serve our purpose." It was probably at this time that Charles Carroll of Carrollton published his opinion of the status of affairs by exclaiming: "And do you think that our *pens* are to settle this mighty question? The *bayonet* must be the arbiter. The people *know* their rights—knowledge is resistance—and our only umpire is the God of battles!" Accordingly, the principal inhabitants set the example of arming themselves; and the delegates of the people, assembled in convention, besides levying and expending large sums of money for the procuring of ammunition, commanded every citizen to provide himself with arms, under pain of being proclaimed an enemy to his country. All this remarkable activity of martial preparation occurred many months before the actual outbreak of hostilities at the Battle of Lexington. Nor was Maryland making these preparations for herself alone; the Convention, on the 11th of December, 1774, "Resolved, unanimously, that if the late acts of Parliament, relative to the Massachusetts Bay, shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force in that colony, or if the assumed power of Parliament to tax the colonies shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in that or any other colony, that, in such case, this province will

support such colony to the utmost of their power." John Adams in his "Novanglus," written in the latter part of 1774, pays this tribute to Maryland's efforts in the common cause; he says: "Maryland and the lower counties on the Delaware have already, to show all the world their approbation of the measures of New England, and their determination to join in them, with a generosity, and a wisdom and magnanimity which ought to make the Tories consider, taken the power of the militia into the hands of the people, without the governor or minister, and established it by their own authority, for the defence of Massachusetts as well as of themselves."

But Maryland did not content herself with promises of, and preparation for, future aid to her New England sister. Money was liberally subscribed in every county, and several vessels loaded with provisions were forwarded to Boston and Charlestown. In a Boston paper of August 29, 1774, we find the following notice: "Yesterday arrived at Marblehead, Capt. Perkins, from Baltimore, with 3000 bus. of Indian corn, 20 barrels of rye, and 21 barrels of bread, sent by the inhabitants of that place for the benefit of the poor of Boston, together with 1000 bus. of corn from Annapolis, sent in the same vessel, and for the same benevolent purpose."

Maryland thus emphatically countenanced the patriotic acts of Massachusetts, and thus gener-

ously supported her in the distress visited upon her in consequence of those acts. But Maryland herself was not barren of equally stirring and patriotic events ; nor did Marylanders fall one iota behind the men of Massachusetts in the boldness and promptness of their resistance to English tyranny. The fame of the " Boston Tea Party " has become world-wide, and an account of it has come to be considered essential to the completeness of every text-book on American history ; while it is hardly known, even to Maryland's own citizens, that Annapolis was the scene of an event similar to that of Boston, its peer in every respect, and in several its superior. On the 15th of October, 1774, only ten months after the tea was dumped into Boston harbor, a vessel owned by Mr. Anthony Stewart, of Annapolis, and loaded with tea consigned to an Annapolis firm, arrived at that port. Mr. Stewart, influenced by his British sympathies, paid the duty on the tea, preparatory to having it landed ; this so incensed the patriots of Anne Arundel county that, after having compelled him to make an humble apology, in a public meeting, for his " act of the most pernicious tendency to the liberties of America," they obliged him to lend his presence and assistance in destroying not only the " detested plant " which formed the cargo, but the vessel itself. The brig was run aground, near the Windmill Point, the sails were set, the colors dis-

played, and amidst the acclamations of the multitude ship and cargo were burned to the water's edge. "In this deed," says Scharf, "there was no darkness, no disguise, no veil of secrecy, no shirking the responsibility, nor attempting to evade the risk of their actions. What was done was done deliberately, was done openly, in the face of day and in public meeting, under the very eyes of officials to whom probably every actor was personally known, and who would not fail to note them. Their rights had been contemned, their liberties invaded, their charter violated, and they determined to resist the wrong squarely and at once, be the consequences what they might." Nor was this the only burnt-offering offered up on the shrine of Liberty. Not long after this event, a ship owned by a merchant of Liverpool, and bound from that place to Baltimore with a cargo of salt, and other articles contrary to the non-importation association, ran aground on a shoal in the Chesapeake Bay near the mouth of West River, and she also was burned to the water's edge by the Maryland associators.

As Mr. Bancroft has shown, the *first* suggestion to hold a Continental Congress originated with the Sons of Liberty of New York; but the honor of first making this suggestion in a formal and effective manner, has been generally conceded to Virginia. Now, upon an examination of the facts,

it will be seen that Maryland is entitled to an equal share of this honor. Although the Virginia House of Burgesses adopted a resolution, on the 27th of May, 1774, recommending their committee of correspondence to invite the other colonies to a general congress, this letter was not dated until the 31st of May; and on this same day the citizens of Baltimore adopted a similar resolution, and speak of it as if they were the originators of the movement. Moreover, the time and place (Philadelphia, September 20th, 1774,) of the meeting was fixed by the Maryland Convention, which with characteristic modesty, apologized to Virginia for preceding her in making this proposition, saying that she did so because "the limits of our province, and the number of its inhabitants, compared with yours, afforded an opportunity of collecting our general sense, before the sentiments of your colony could be regularly ascertained."

In the deliberations and acts of this ever memorable body, the Continental Congress, Maryland has every reason to be proud of the record made for her by her delegates. Samuel Chase, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Thomas Johnson, and William Paca, are names that would grace the history of any age and land, and their efforts in the preservation of American liberties have cast bright lustre on their native State.

While fulfilling her part in the peaceful measures taken by Congress against British aggression, Maryland proved that she was ready and willing to resort to more warlike means. On April 29th, 1775, a day or two before the arrival of the news from Lexington, on hearing that New York City was to be fortified and garrisoned by the British, the Maryland Convention gave their delegates in Congress authority to "proceed even to the last extremity, if indispensably necessary for the safety and preservation of their liberties and privileges." The Convention which met at Annapolis on July 26th, 1775, seeing "no alternative but base submission or manly resistance," "approved the opposition by arms to the British troops."

And now we come to a discussion of the attitude of Maryland toward the Declaration of Independence,—an attitude that has been characterized as the outcome of jealousy, indifference, ruinous conservatism, and even cowardice. Of the latter charge, I shall say nothing; the *facts* of Maryland's history make *words* unnecessary. The charges of indifference and jealousy are also disproved by the same cogent arguments,—the facts already related and yet to be set forth. To conservatism Maryland certainly pleads guilty, and it is her proud distinction that she was conservative at this important epoch; but it was the best of all conservatism,—what we know and admire now as 'progressive'

conservatism ; not slavish, nor sluggish, nor ruinous, but free and steady, and rational ; neither held back by fear of Britain's vengeance, nor precipitated by rash and foolish haste. Maryland has never, at any period of her history, had the slightest tincture of 'Sans-culottism,' in her make-up, and the debt of our country to the Chesapeake State for that element of 'progress united with conservatism,' at more than one national crisis, is perhaps greater than is commonly recognized.

At the beginning of the struggle, Maryland, in common with all the other colonies, was totally adverse to political independence from Great Britain ; and on more than one occasion she evinced her loyalty to the King by numerous resolves, addresses, and instructions to Congressional delegates. She was riveted to England by ties of kinship, religion, social relations, business interests, political policy, and, as she conceived, a strong sense of duty ; and ties such as these were not to be broken without the most careful deliberation, and without the most assured conviction that such a step would accord with the future welfare of the province as well as with present inclinations ; and they were not broken until the short-sighted tyranny of the Mother Country forced upon the daughter the irresistible conclusion that it would best comport with her own and her people's prosperity for her to sever the maternal connection.

That this conclusion was finally reached by the people of Maryland before it became too late, is largely due to the efforts of Samuel Chase, the "Demosthenes of Maryland," who is said to have anticipated in Congress the regular proposition of independence by a most impassioned and vehement exclamation, that "By the God of Heaven, he owed no allegiance to the King of Great Britain." Chase left Congress in the early part of 1776, hastened to Maryland, summoned county conventions in all the counties, and assisted by Carroll, through speeches and circular letters, convinced the people that the time had come for expressing in words the independence which they had already virtually declared in deeds. This conviction once thoroughly held, the Marylanders acted with characteristic decision. A new Convention was elected, which assembled on the 21st of June, and, on the afternoon of the same day that Moultrie so gallantly repulsed the British fleet in its attack upon Charleston, at the very time that Jefferson was reporting his draft of the Declaration to Congress (June 28, 1776), it empowered its delegates "to concur with the other United Colonies, or a majority of them, in declaring the said Colonies free and independent States."¹

Five days later, on July 3d, while the Continental Congress was still considering the form of its

¹ John Adams writing to Chase, 7, 1, 1776: "Maryland behaved well; Paca, generously and nobly."

declaration, the Convention directed the election of a new Convention, "to form a new government, by the authority of the people only;" and on the 6th of July, without waiting for the expected declaration of Congress, and before its final ratification could have been known, the Convention formally proclaimed the Independence of the Province of Maryland.

II.

MARYLAND AND THE ALLIES.

Having dwelt at some length on Maryland's share in making possible the Declaration of Independence, I shall now, much more briefly, outline her share in the successful maintenance of that independence; and shall commence with her influence in effecting foreign alliances.

It has impressed me as quite remarkable that there should have been such an intimate connection between the foreign allies of the Colonies and Maryland,—a relationship that was maintained throughout the Revolution, and has been continued in large degree to the present day. We find accounts in the Revolutionary records of banquets given by the citizens of Maryland to all the prominent foreigners in the American service, or of addresses presented to, and received from them. Lafayette, De Grasse, Rochambeau, De Kalb, Pulaski, Kosciusko, and

Paul Jones, were all associated in greater or less degree with Maryland and Maryland people. The relation between Lafayette and Baltimore was especially close; in a letter to Washington just before the Yorktown campaign, Lafayette says: "The State of Maryland have made to me every offer in their power. . . . The merchants of Baltimore have lent me a sum of about 2,000 pounds, which will procure some shirts, linen over-alls, and a few hats. The ladies will make up the shirts, and the over-alls will be made by the detachment, so that our soldiers have the chance of being a little more comfortable." . . . "My campaign began with a personal obligation to the inhabitants of Baltimore; at the end of it, I find myself bound to them by a new tie of everlasting gratitude."

Samuel Nicholson, of Chestertown, was Paul Jones's lieutenant in the battle between the Bon Homme Richard and Serapis. Count Pulaski was made a brigadier-general by Congress, in 1777, and granted permission to raise and command an independent corps; this corps he raised in Maryland, chiefly in Baltimore; and it was at the head of this corps through some of the bloodiest conflicts of the war, that the silken banner waved which is known to the world through the beautiful poem of Longfellow, and which is still to be seen in the rooms of the Maryland Historical Society. The military renown, won in America by Baron de Kalb, is

inseparably joined with that of the Marylanders under his command; he was placed at the head of the Maryland Line not long after his arrival in this country, and retained this command until his heroic death at the Battle of Camden, in August, 1780.¹ It is said that De Kalb's dying moments were spent in expressing his praise of the noble Maryland regiment, and his admiration of Gist, and its other gallant officers.

But not only was Maryland closely connected with our foreign allies after their appearance on the stage of the Revolution, but she was also influential in causing these actors to appear. In order to identify Canada with the cause of the American Colonies, or to procure her neutrality at the least, Congress on February 15, 1776, "Resolved, That a committee of three (two of whom to be members of Congress) be appointed to repair to Canada, there . . . to assure them, that it is our earnest desire to adopt them into our union, as a sister colony, . . . and to urge the necessity the people are under of immediately taking some decisive step, to put themselves under the protection of the United Colonies." Of the three commissioners appointed on this dangerous and delicate mission, two, Samuel Chase and

¹October 14, 1780, Congress passed a resolution for the erection of a monument to the memory of De Kalb in the city of Annapolis, and at a recent day it has been placed by the side of the State House in the "Ancient City" in the form of a statue of the hero; more a credit to the gratitude of the American people than to the genius of the artist.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, were Marylanders; and it was also "Resolved, That Mr. Carroll be requested to prevail on Mr. John Carroll (also a Marylander, and the first archbishop in America) to accompany the committee to Canada, to assist them in such matters as they shall think useful." This mission was unsuccessful, in so far as the active coöperation of Canada was concerned, but this was due, not to the incapacity of the commissioners, but to the defeat of Montgomery's army, the contributions levied on the inhabitants, the invincible opposition of the priests, and more especially, to the inconsistency of the two addresses of Congress: the one to the Canadians declaring "that we hold sacred the rights of conscience, and you may promise to the whole people, solemnly in our name, the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; and, to the clergy, the full, perfect, and peaceable possession and enjoyment of all their estates; that the government of every thing relating to their religion and clergy, shall be left entirely in the hands of the good people of that province, &c., &c.;"¹ while the other to the People of Great Britain, declares, alluding to the "Quebec Act" passed by Parliament, "That we think the legislature of Great Britain is not authorized, by the constitution, to establish a religion, fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets . . . in any quarter of the globe." . . . "Nor

¹ Journals, March 20, 1776.

can we suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country (Canada), a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world.”¹

Although the Journals of the Continental Congress are entirely silent on the subject of European alliance before the latter part of 1776, we know from a letter of John Adams to Dr. Rush, dated 30th September, 1805, that the first move in this direction was made by a Maryland man. In this letter John Adams says: “Samuel Chase made a motion in Congress in the fall of 1775 to send ambassadors to France. John Adams seconded the motion. You know the state of the nerves of Congress at that time. . . . Whether the effect of the motion resembled the shock of electricity, of mesmerism, or of galvanism, the most exactly, I leave you philosophers to determine; but the grimaces, the agitations, and convulsions were very great.” Some idea of the commotion caused in Congress by Chase’s proposal may be seen in a speech made on that occasion by the Rev. Dr. Zubly of Georgia (October 6, 1775); in the course of this speech, Dr. Zubly said: “There are persons in America who wish to break off with Great Britain. A proposition has been made to apply to France and Spain;

¹ Journals, October 21, 1774.

before I agree to it I apprehend the man who should propose it would be torn to pieces like De Witt." Chase replied to this speech by declaring that there was amongst them on the floor of Congress a Judas Iscariot in the person of J. J. Zubly of Georgia; and he produced such ample proofs of his assertion, that Zubly precipitately left Congress, and soon went over to the enemy.

Having spoken of the part he took in the debate following this motion, Mr. Adams (in the same letter) continues: "After all our argumentation, however, we could not carry our motion; but, after twenty subtle projects to get rid of it, the whole terminated in a committee of secret correspondence."

This Committee of Secret Correspondence was appointed November 29, 1775, and was composed of Harrison, Franklin, Johnson, Dickinson and Jay. "The sole purpose for which the committee was appointed," says the Secret Journals (Vol. II., Foreign Relations), was to "correspond with our friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and *other parts of the world*." Authority was given to them to employ and send out agents on the service. It is noticeable that none of the New England delegates were appointed on this committee (although Hancock was President of Congress at the time),—probably because, by their support of radical measures, they had made themselves obnoxious to the

more conservative party in Congress; this reason may be assigned, with equal probability, as an explanation of Samuel Chase's absence from this important committee. Of Chase's prominence in the movement towards foreign alliances there can be no doubt. As we have seen, John Adams gives to him the credit of first introducing the question before Congress. A few months later, on hearing that the plan of confederation and foreign alliance still met with opposition and delay, he hastened back to Philadelphia to again lend his support to the effecting of these two important objects. The anxiety of his mind lest they should not be carried through is plainly to be seen in a letter which he wrote to Richard Henry Lee at this time: ". . . . I hurried to Congress to give my little assistance to the framing a confederation and a plan for foreign alliance,—both of them subjects of the greatest importance, and which, in my judgment, demand the greatest despatch. . . . The whole might, in my opinion, be settled, if candour, justice, and the real interests of America were attended to. We do not all see the importance, nay, the *necessity* of a confederacy. We shall remain weak, distracted and divided in our councils; our strength will decrease; we shall be open to all the arts of the insidious court of Britain, and no foreign court will attend to our applications for assistance, before we are confederated. What contract

will a foreign state make with us when we cannot agree among ourselves? ”

In spite of secret treason and determined opposition to the plan of a foreign alliance, Chase and his supporters finally carried the day, the Secret Committee of Correspondence was appointed (November 29, 1775), and, as a result of their labors, that Treaty with France was secured, without which the Revolution would hardly have succeeded. Although the Treaty was made at the time when Maryland was vigorously maintaining the claims of the Colonies as a whole to the unsettled Western lands, and was persistently refusing to accede to the Confederation until those claims should be recognized, the Maryland Assembly unanimously approved the French alliance as equal, honorable and wise, and pledged themselves and the State of Maryland to be bound by the provisions of the Treaty and faithfully to fulfil them as good and true allies.

In the hour of American triumph, Maryland did not forget America's debt of gratitude to France. When the British General and Admiral in May, 1782, informed Washington that they were authorized to negotiate a treaty of peace, the Assembly of Maryland, to show their appreciation of the services rendered by the French allies, “ Resolved, unanimously, That it is the opinion of this State that peace with Great Britain and all the

world is an object truly desirable, but that war with all its calamities is to be preferred to national dishonor. That it is the sentiment of this State that any negotiation for peace or truce, not agreeable to the Alliance with France, is inadmissible ; that every danger ought to be encountered, every event hazarded, rather than sully our national character, or violate, in the least degree, our connection with our great and good ally, and that good faith, gratitude and safety forbid any treaty for peace or truce with Great Britain, but in conjunction with France, or with her consent first obtained."

III.

MARYLAND IN THE ARMY.

The military record of Maryland both on sea and land during the Revolution, is one of which every Marylander should be proud, and upon which he may be pardoned for dilating whenever a suitable opportunity presents itself. The scope of this paper hardly offers such opportunity, but I cannot refrain from outlining the main features of that record.

In the first place, a Maryland man, Thomas Johnson, first governor of the State, gave to the American army its commander-in-chief, George Washington. Virginia claims Washington as a

native-born citizen ; Massachusetts claims that she gave him to Virginia ; but the indisputable fact remains that on the 15th of June, 1775, Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, nominated him as commander-in-chief of the Continental army, and that he was upon that nomination unanimously elected to the position. The contemporary accounts of this event are lamentably scarce and superficial. Tradition has preserved, and current histories have repeated, accounts of how the ‘ Virginians were in favor of Washington’s election before he was nominated,’ and how ‘ John Adams met Samuel Adams outside of the Congress hall on the very day of the nomination and told him that Washington was the man for the place ;’ but the fact that he was actually nominated and supported by a Marylander has been utterly neglected. On the face of it, this mere nomination seems a sufficiently unimportant service. But when we consider that Washington had not then attained the all engrossing position that he afterwards came to fill in the eyes of the world, that his merits were then comparatively untried, and his name but little known, and then view his nomination through the medium of the inestimable services he afterwards rendered to his country, this service takes on a new aspect, and assumes greatly increased proportions ; so that candor compels us to acknowledge that it was, in

reality a service eminently influential in the final success of the American cause.¹

John Adams refers to Thomas Johnson as the nominator of Washington to the position of commander-in-chief, placing his name and this service in connection with the greatest names and services of the Revolution ; viz., with those of Washington and the command of the army, Jefferson and the Declaration, Richard Henry Lee and the Resolutions of June 7, Samuel Chase and the motion for foreign relations.²

Maryland, having chosen the general, did not desert him, but, from Boston to Yorktown remained his constant friend and supporter, sharing in his victories, and doing much toward sustaining his reverses. In his darkest hours, when New York and Philadelphia were in the hands of the British, before the alliance with France, when the army was famishing and freezing in the camp at Valley Forge, and when the Conway Cabal was formed by officers in the army and countenanced by members of Congress to displace him and substitute Gates, it was Maryland who rallied to the General's support both in Congress halls and on battle fields.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, was one of the warmest friends and advocates of Washington on

¹ Gist saved Washington's life.

² Letter to Timothy Pickering, August 6, 1822, and see Letter to Richard H. Lee. Works of John Adams, Vol. X, page 396.

the Congressional Committee which vindicated him from the charges made by the Conway Cabal.

Food and clothing were sent from Maryland farms and homes to the soldiers at Valley Forge. Mrs. Margaret Jane Ramsay, wife of the gallant colonel, followed the army from place to place, attended by a servant, carrying a chest of medicine, soothing the last moments of soldiers dying on the field of battle, and alleviating the soldiers' sufferings in the small-pox stricken tents of Valley Forge. General Smallwood was sent by Congress to Maryland to encourage and hasten the raising of new levies,—a task in which he was eminently successful. Johnson left Congress, hastened to Maryland, raised a small army, and with it joined Washington's troops. And Chase, on behalf of Congress, published a powerful address to the people of America to counteract the insidious conciliatory bills of the British Parliamentary Commissioners, which were being diligently circulated by the Tories.

Maryland was one of the free States to whom Congress made its first appeal for soldiers (June 14, 1775), and one of the Maryland companies raised in response to this appeal was the first from the south to reach Cambridge, the seat of war (August, 1775) at that time. Nor was it only on this first occasion that Maryland showed her promptness and willingness in supplying men and provisions for the common defence; throughout the war

she came liberally and readily to the front in sacrificing the lives and money of her citizens, and, without intending any "odious comparison" in the statement, General Smallwood, in a letter to the Maryland Council of Safety (October, 1776), testifies "that none of the States have filled their quotas of troops but Maryland." And the troops she furnished, proved themselves of the right stuff. They were confessedly the favorites of Washington; and the heroes of his first campaign. At the battle of Long Island, when Sullivan's troops had been routed, and when the rest of the American army was in most imminent danger of being surrounded and cut off, General Stirling determined upon a sacrifice of a part of his army for the safe retreat of the rest; selecting a band of less than four hundred Marylanders, he succeeded in keeping at bay a force of five times his number, and thus saved the army. Says Mr. Thomas W. Field, in his "Battle of Long Island": "The sacrifice of their lives, so freely made by the generous and noble sons of Maryland, had not been made in vain. An hour, more precious to American liberty than any other in its history, had been gained; and the retreat of many hundreds of their countrymen had been secured across the dreadful creek and marsh whose treacherous tide and slime now covered so many of their brave comrades."

The gallantry displayed by the Marylanders in the actions at Kip's Bay and Harlem Heights, was warmly praised by Washington in his letters to Congress.

At the Battle of White Plains, when the rest of the brigade to which they were attached had retreated, Colonel Smallwood's regiment sustained the heavy fire of artillery and musketry that was centred upon them, for full half an hour while the brigade was making good its retreat.

Colonel Moses Rawlings and his Marylanders were the heroes of Fort Washington.

The gallant defence of Fort Mifflin was made by Colonel Samuel Smith of Baltimore, and his Maryland artillerymen ; in a letter to Congress (17 November, 1777) informing them of the fall of this fort, Washington says : " I am sorry to inform you that Fort Mifflin was evacuated the night before last, after a defence which does credit to the American arms, and will ever reflect the highest honor upon the officers and men of the garrison. The works were entirely beat down ; every piece of cannon dismounted, and one of the enemy's ships so near that she threw grenades into the fort and killed men upon the platforms, from her tops, before they quitted the Island."¹ As a reward for his conduct on this occasion, Colonel Smith was presented with a sword by Congress.

¹ Sparks, V, p. 151.

It is related that, at the Battle of Monmouth,¹ when General Lee, commanding the advanced corps, was making his treacherous retreat upon the rear division, thus placing the whole army in imminent danger of falling into confusion, and the enemy were within a few minutes' march, Washington called for an officer to check the British advance; Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay, of Baltimore, promptly presented himself, and the commander-in-chief, taking him by the hand, thus addressed him: "If you can stop the British ten minutes, till I form, you will save my army!" Colonel Ramsay answering, "I will stop them or fall!" proved as good as his word, and succeeded in keeping the enemy in check for half an hour, until the main division under Patterson and Smallwood formed, and saved the day.

One of the two divisions with which General Wayne effected the memorable capture of Stony Point, was led by Major John Stewart, of Maryland,² and composed mostly of soldiers of the Maryland Line.

It was almost entirely through the efforts of the Maryland companies under his command,³ that Major Henry Lee succeeded in capturing another strong British fort on Paulus Hook.

¹ Cf. "Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay,"—a monograph published by the Maryland Historical Society. Fund Publication, No. 24.

² Congress awarded a Medal to Major Stewart for his gallantry on this occasion.

³ See Major Lee's Report to Congress, for an account of the conduct of the other companies.

This brilliant episode closed the military career of Maryland in the North ; a career adorned throughout by the utmost bravery, endeared through many an inestimable service, graced by many a triumph, hallowed by many a noble death, and unspotted by a single blemish. Nor did Maryland's " Northern laurels turn," like those of Gates, " to Southern willows," but blossomed rather into Southern immortelles.

On the disastrous field of Camden, when all the rest of the army had made a shameful retreat, the two Maryland brigades and the Delaware battalion were left alone to sustain the onslaught of the entire British army, and to share the glorious death of their leader, the gallant Baron de Kalb. Six hundred of the eight hundred Marylanders engaged were left dead upon the field.

The Battle of Cowpens was sustained and won by the " Lion-hearted Howard " and his Maryland regiment. At the close of the day, Colonel Howard is said to have held the swords of seven British officers whom he had taken prisoners, including that of General O'Hara, who had clung to his stirrups asking quarter.¹

The memorable retreat of Greene from the Catawba to the Dan was protected by a picked body of Maryland and Virginia soldiers under the command of Colonel Otho H. Williams. It is generally

¹ Harper's Magazine, LXV, 23.

admitted that the success of this achievement was due largely to the masterly manœuvres of the covering party.

At the Battle of Guilford, when the Virginia and North Carolina militia had been routed, the First Maryland regiment under Colonels Gunby and Howard, came to the rescue, and succeeded in winning a remarkable victory. Says Judge Johnson in his "Life of Greene" (II, 15), speaking of this battle: "Excepting the infantry of the legion¹ and Kirkwood's little corps of Delaware, the first regiment of the Marylanders was the only body of men in the American army who could be compared to the enemy in discipline and experience; and it is with confidence that we challenge the modern world to produce an instance of better service performed by the same number of men in the same time. They did not exceed two hundred and eighty-five in number. Yet, unassisted they drove from the field in the first instance, the thirty-third regiment, three hundred and twenty-two strong, supported by the Jägers and light infantry of the Guards. Before they had yet breathed from the performance of this service, they pierced the flank of the first battalion of the Guards, and aided by the cavalry of Washington, dissipated a corps far exceeding their own in number, and the very boast of the British nation. Valleys of grape-shot poured

¹ The legion was composed largely of Maryland troops.

through their own ranks by the enemy, and the near approach of two British regiments on their left flank, arrested them in the pursuit; but they calmly, and in perfect order, returned to their position and exhibited a spirit that seemed only to covet more arduous service.

The charge of the Maryland Line at the Battle of Eutaw is too well known and celebrated to need commendation here.¹ It was on that occasion that General Greene observes, speaking of the Maryland corps: "I am at a loss which most to admire, the gallantry of the officers or the good conduct of the men. . . . The uncommon intrepidity of Colonel Williams exceeded anything I ever saw Colonel Howard is as good an officer as the world affords, and deserves a statue of gold, no less than the Roman and Grecian heroes."² The thanks of Congress were presented³ "to the officers and men of the Maryland and Virginia brigades, and Delaware battalion of Continental troops, for the unparalleled bravery and heroism by them displayed, in advancing to the enemy through an incessant fire, and charging them with an impetuosity and ardor that could not be resisted."

The troops of Maryland under Gist did good service in the field and trenches of Yorktown, and the executive and State government, generously

¹ Letter 9-12-81.

² Caldwell, *Life of Greene*, 175.

³ 29 October, 1781.

sustained by the people, were so active in furnishing the combined armies with supplies necessary to sustain the siege, as to call forth from Washington the warmest praise and thanks.

It is somewhat remarkable that the news of the two greatest successes gained by the Americans during the war, namely the capitulation of Burgoyne and of Cornwallis, should have been carried to Congress and so to the country at large, by Maryland men. The news of Burgoyne's surrender was conveyed to Congress by Major Wilkinson, afterwards General Wilkinson of Maryland; the joy occasioned by the receipt of these glad tidings may be better imagined than described, considering that they came at a time when the affairs of State were at the darkest, and told of the first great American victory, the turning-point in the War for Independence.

The news that "Cornwallis is taken" was carried with remarkable speed to Congress by Colonel Tench Tilghman, Washington's private secretary, also a Maryland man;¹ a horse properly caparisoned, and an elegant sword, were presented by Congress to the bearer of these great tidings,—tidings of an event that virtually ended the War for Independence, and it ranks in historic interest with the famous Ride of Paul Revere, the Ride in

¹ Washington says of Tilghman: "He has been in every action in which the main army was concerned, and has been a faithful assistant to me for five years, a great part of which time he refused to receive pay."

which the Good News was brought from Aix to Ghent, Sheridan's Ride, and Putnam's Ride at Horse Neck.

Judge Johnson in his life of Greene (II, p. 345), gives to Captain Wilmot, of Maryland, the credit of being the last American to die in his country's cause in the Revolutionary War; on the 14th of November, 1782, Wilmot, in conjunction with Kosciusko, planned and carried into effect an expedition against a party of the enemy's wood-cutters, on James Island, and in it he lost his life.

It was in Maryland, in the Senate Chamber at Annapolis, that the last scene in the drama of the Revolution was enacted,¹—the surrender by General Washington, to the civil authorities, of that sword with which, under God, he had achieved the independence of his country; an event justly characterized as one of the most memorable and extraordinary recorded in the history of the world, and one which has cast a bright lustre of historic interest upon the capital of our State.

IV.

MARYLAND AND THE CONFEDERATION.

On the twenty-eighth of June, 1776, Samuel Chase, who has been called "the torch that lighted up the Revolutionary flame in Maryland," hurrying

¹ December 23, 1783.

from the Maryland House of Delegates in which had just been passed the decree that severed the political bonds uniting the colony to Great Britain, sent the following dispatch to John Adams, then laboring for independence in the halls of Congress : " I am this moment from the House to procure an express to follow up the post, with a unanimous vote of our Convention for independence. See the glorious effects of county instructions. Our people have fire if not smothered . . . *Now for a government!*" This last sentiment was an echo of that which prevailed at the moment in the Maryland Assembly ; for in the very Act of dissolving their allegiance to the British Crown, the Assembly made provision for the establishment of a general government which should confirm and perpetuate the rights assumed by their Declaration of Independence.

By this memorable Resolution, the Maryland delegates in Congress were "empowered to concur with the other United Colonies, or a majority of them in . . . forming such further compact and confederation between them . . . as shall be adjudged necessary for securing the liberties of America ; and this Colony will hold itself bound by the resolutions of a majority of the United Colonies in the premises : provided, the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government

and police of this colony be reserved to the people thereof."

The task before the new nation was full of danger that threatened disaster, and of problems that seemed to many impossible of solution. In the concise words of James Madison,¹ it consisted in the establishment of a "system (of government) founded on popular rights, and so combining a federal form with the forms of individual republics, as may enable each to supply the defects of the other and obtain the advantage of both." And such a system was to be formed between thirteen states, differing in extent, wealth and population, as well as in habits, education, and religious opinions, and between some of which disputes existed relative to boundaries, imposts, and other matters. Viewed through the medium of subsequent events in our history, the gravity and importance of the situation is apparent. But, however justly "reluctant" the people were to undertake the task, their "necessities" were undoubtedly "grinding." The same vital considerations that urged a union of the Colonies, dictated a union of the States. In the darkest hours of the Revolution, surrounded by the clouds of defeat and treason, as yet unaided by any foreign power, threatened with the dire vengeance and pursued by the remorseless energy of an infuriated King, the people as a whole fully concurred

¹ Elliot, V, 109.

with the sentiment expressed by Franklin, that "they must all hang together, or they would assuredly all hang separately." And on the other hand, it appeared but too probable that the contending passions and ambitions of separate governments, the mutual jealousies and discordant interests of so many rival powers, would inevitably expose them to a renewal of those scenes of violence which had laid waste the fertile plains of Europe, and drenched them with the blood of countless millions.

Goaded on by circumstances threatening such perils, and led by hopes of "common defence, security of liberties, and mutual and general welfare," the question of a general government was early broached. As far back as July 21, 1775, Congress having "resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America, Dr. B. Franklin submitted to their consideration" thirteen proposed articles of confederation. Thomas Jefferson,¹ alluding to this proposed plan of union, says: "I approved it highly. He (Dr. Franklin) showed it to others. Some thought as I did; others were revolted at it. We found it could not be passed, and the proposing it to Congress as the subject for any vote whatever would startle many members so much, that they would suspect we had lost sight of reconciliation with Great Britain, and that we should lose much more

¹ Jefferson's "Works," IX, p. 303.

ground than we should gain by the proposition. Yet, that the idea of a more firm bond of union than the undefined one under which we then acted might be suggested and permitted to grow, Dr. Franklin informed Congress that he had sketched the outlines of an instrument which might become necessary at a future day, if the minority continued pertinacious; and would ask leave for it to lay on the table of Congress, that the members might in the meantime be turning the subject in their minds, and have something more perfect prepared by the time it should become necessary. This was agreed to by the timid members, only on condition that no entry whatever should be made in the journals of Congress relative to this instrument."

The concluding paragraph of these articles is noteworthy for the advanced stage that the mind of Franklin had already attained toward independence.¹ It provided that "the union thereby established is to continue firm, till the terms of reconciliation proposed in the petition of the last Congress to the king are agreed to; till the acts since made, restraining the American commerce and fisheries, are repealed; till reparation is made for the injury done to Boston, by shutting up its port, for the burning of Charlestown, and for the expense of this unjust war; and till all the British troops are withdrawn from America. On the arrival of these

¹ See Secret Journals, Vol. I, p. 288.

events, the colonies will return to their former connexion and friendship with Britain ; but on failure thereof, this confederation is to be perpetual."

But the times were not yet ripe for so decisive a step. The subject was not brought before Congress again until June 7, 1776, when the famous twin resolutions of Richard Henry Lee were offered, one of which provided "That a plan of Confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their consideration and approbation."

On June 11, 1776, it was "Resolved, That a committee be appointed to prepare and digest the form of a confederation to be entered into between these colonies;" and on the following day, it was "Resolved, That the committee to prepare and digest the form of confederation to be entered into between these colonies, consist of a member from each colony." Maryland's representative on this committee was Thomas Stone.

It was not until Friday, the twelfth of July, 1776, that this committee reported a draft of the proposed confederation, consisting of twenty articles. After taking stringent measures for the prevention of the circulation outside of Congress of any information concerning the proposed articles, Congress, on Monday, the twenty-second of the same month, resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take the report into consideration. The debate in committee was continued from day to day

until Tuesday, the twentieth of August, when the amended form was reported back to the House. It was now laid aside until the eighth of April, 1777, when the Articles were again taken up, and discussed and postponed from day to day and month to month until November 15, 1777, at which time, having been reduced to Thirteen, they were finally adopted.

In the long debate in the committee of the whole, from July 22 to August 20, Maryland's delegates, Samuel Chase in particular, were prominent and influential. It was early in this debate that Maryland entered upon the far-sighted policy by which she was determined to shape her own course in her relations with her sister States, and which was in the end to have such a vital influence upon the establishment and development of the Union itself. It was soon found that a wide diversity of sentiment prevailed among the States on three important points: First, as to the mode of *voting* in Congress,—whether by States, or according to wealth or population; second, as to the rule by which the *expenses* of the union should be *apportioned* among the States; third, relative to the disposition of the vacant and unpatented western lands.

In the discussion on the first of these questions, the grasping policy of some States was first mani-

fested.¹ The Virginia delegates in particular introduced three propositions, each having for its object the aggrandizement of the large States in presence of the ballot-box at the expense of the small. The discussion waxed hot, when Samuel Chase, doubtless hoping to throw oil upon the troubled waters, came forward in the following speech: "He observed that this article was the one most likely to divide us of any one proposed in the draught then under consideration: that the larger colonies had threatened they would not confederate at all, if their weight in Congress should not be equal to the numbers of the people they added to the confederacy; while the smaller ones declared against a union, if they did not retain an equal vote for the protection of their rights. That it was of the utmost consequence to bring the parties together, as, should we sever from each other, either no foreign power will ally with us at all, or the different States will form different alliances, and thus increase the horrors of those scenes of civil war and bloodshed, which in such a state of separation and independence, would render us a miserable people. That our importance, our interests, our peace required that we should confederate, and that mutual sacrifices should be made to effect a compromise of this difficult question. I am of opinion that the smaller colonies will lose their rights, if

¹ See Secret Journals, I, p. 317 ff.

they are not in *some* instances allowed an equal vote ; and that therefore, a discrimination should take place among the questions which should come before Congress. That the smaller States should be secured in all questions concerning life or liberty, and the greater ones, in all respecting property. I therefore propose that in votes relating to *money*, the voice of each colony shall be proportioned to the number of its inhabitants.”¹ This proposal failed of its object, however, and the discussion waxed hotter and hotter.² “Great heats, much ill humor, and intemperate declarations were produced from some members. Dr. Franklin at length brought the debate to a close with one of his little apologues. He observed ‘that at the time of the union of England and Scotland, the Duke of Argyle was most violently opposed to that measure, and among other things predicted that, as the whale had swallowed Jonah, so Scotland would be swallowed by England. However,’ said the Doctor, ‘when Lord Bute came into the government, he soon brought into its administration so many of his countrymen, that it was found in event that Jonah had swallowed the whale.’ This little story produced a general laugh and restored good humor,” and the Article giving each State one vote was finally adopted.

¹ See Jefferson’s “Works,” I, p. 30.

² See Jefferson’s “Works,” VIII, 499 ; I, 31-32.

With respect to the expenses of the union, it was proposed that they should be paid by the States in proportion to the number of inhabitants of every age, sex, and quality (except Indians not paying taxes) in each State, the number to be taken every three years.¹ In the debate in the committee on this proposition, Chase moved to insert the word "white" before "inhabitants," and supported his motion in a strong speech, arguing that *slaves* were property and should not be counted as people. Chase was ably answered by John Adams, his amendment was defeated, and the Article was reported to Congress in the form originally proposed. But when the question came to be discussed in Congress, determined resistance was again offered to the counting of slaves as people and to the apportionment of taxes on that basis, and two propositions were made,—one, that such apportionment be based upon the value of all property, except household goods and wearing apparel, within each State; the other, that the value of all land within each State, granted to or surveyed for any person, together with the buildings and improvements thereon, be the basis of taxation. This latter proposition was "passed in the affirmative," and embodied as Article VIII in the final draft. Owing to the meagreness of available records, it is impossible to say certainly who offered this proposition,

¹ See Jefferson's "Works," I, p. 27; Adams' "Works," II, p. 496.

and who supported it in debate ; but from the few recorded speeches in the committee of the whole, I am inclined to credit its proposal to Dr. Witherspoon, of New Jersey.¹ That State, and all those south of Pennsylvania voted unanimously in its favor (5), against the four northern states, and two (New York and Pennsylvania) divided.

In Maryland's subsequent objections to the Confederation, it was proposed that after the words "granted to or surveyed for" in this Article, there be inserted the words "or which shall hereafter be granted to or surveyed for any person." This proposal was defeated by a vote of eight to four ; but in it we see an evidence of Maryland's determined and eventually successful stand that the vast vacant territories claimed by a few States should, in some way or another, be made to benefit the United States as a whole.

And this leads us to a consideration of the third chief point of difficulty in the adoption of the Confederation,—the question as to the disposition of the vacant and unpatented western lands.

In the first draft of the Confederation occurred the following Article (XIV): "No purchases of land hereafter to be made of the Indians by colonies or private persons, before the limits of the colonies are ascertained, to be valid. All purchases of lands not included within those limits, where

¹ See Jefferson's "Works," I, p. 30.

ascertained, to be made by contracts between the United States assembled, or by persons for that purpose authorized by them, and the great councils of the Indians, *for the general benefit of all the United Colonies.*" In the discussion over this Article in the committee of the whole, as far back as July 25, 1776, Samuel Chase made a strong fight to have it stand, but the committee refused to report it, and it was accordingly stricken out. Here is apparently the first suggestion that a union of the colonies should be based upon a territorial commonwealth,—a suggestion originating with and supported by a delegate from Maryland. But more than the suggestion of such a union is to be ascribed to Maryland; the brunt of the battle for its accomplishment fell upon her. For five years she strove to realize her ideal, and her efforts were eventually crowned with success. Arguing from the just principle "That in order to render the present union and confederacy firm and perpetual, it is essential that the limits of each respective territorial jurisdiction be ascertained by the articles of confederation," the Maryland delegates made four unsuccessful endeavors to vest in Congress the right "to fix the western boundaries of such States as claim to the South Sea, and to dispose of all land beyond the boundaries so ascertained for the benefit of the United States." These efforts were made for a long time unsupported by the delegates of any other State; and it was only in

the absence of the Maryland delegates that Congress added the clause to the Ninth Article, which provided that no State should be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

The further steps in Maryland's struggle for the nationalization of the western lands have been so thoroughly treated by Professor H. B. Adams, in a monograph published by the Maryland Historical Society, that I shall dwell no longer upon the subject than to borrow from the work referred to, a sentence summing up the true significance of Maryland's attitude at this momentous epoch in American history. Says Professor Adams: "The credit of suggesting and successfully urging in Congress, that policy which has made this country a great national commonwealth, composed of "free, convenient, and independent governments," bound together by ties of permanent territorial interests, the credit of originating this policy belongs to Maryland, and to her alone."¹

In the objections made by the Maryland Assembly to the Confederation, June 22, 1778, were advocated two great American principles, which in view of present political discussion, are worthy of mention; these are manhood citizenship as opposed to property qualifications, and protection to home labor as opposed to unrestricted immigration.

¹ Fund Publication No. XI. "Maryland's Influence in founding a National Commonwealth," p. 30.

In Article IV, the Maryland delegates moved to strike out the restriction upon the right of *paupers* to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and they endeavored, also, to fix the maintenance of poor immigrants from one State to another, upon the State whence they emigrated.

These two endeavors, together with Maryland's chief mission regarding the western lands, were unsuccessful at the time, and so Maryland steadily refused to ratify the Confederation. Finally Congress decided that it was "more advisable to press upon those States which could remove the embarrassments respecting the western country, a liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims." An appeal to that effect was accordingly sent by Congress to the claimant States, which, following the example of New York, authorized their delegates to surrender the major part of their claims to the western country. For so doing, these States deserve credit, perhaps, not for being generous, but for not persisting in claims more or less unwarranted, at a critical period in the Revolution.

So much being accomplished, Maryland—"from an earnest desire to conciliate the affection of the sister States, to convince all the world of our unalterable resolution to support the independence of the United States and the alliance with his Most Christian Majesty, and to destroy forever any apprehension of our friends, or hope in our ene-

mies, of this State being again united to Great Britain"—yielded her objections to the Confederation, and empowered her delegates to subscribe the Articles (February 2, 1781). But, true to the policy which they conceived to be to the interest not only of their own constituents but also of the whole Confederation, the Maryland Assembly in their authorizing Act "declared, that by acceding to the said Confederation, this State does not relinquish, or intend to relinquish, any right or interest she hath with the other united or confederated States to the back country And it is further declared, That no article in the said Confederation can or ought to bind this or any other State, to guaranty any exclusive claim of any particular State to the soil of the said back lands, or any such claim of jurisdiction over the said lands, or the inhabitants thereof." On Washington's birth-day, 1781, the delegates of Maryland, John Hanson and Daniel Carroll, took their seats in Congress, with power to sign the Articles and thus remove the last remaining obstacle to the long-expected Confederation. The final ratification by the Maryland delegates, and the announcement of the Articles to the public was delayed until March 1, 1781, on which day the delegates from New York formally surrendered to Congress their claims to the western lands.

There are two facts in connection with this first legal union of the United States, that deserve men-

tion: The author of the Confederation, John Dickinson, was a Maryland boy, born at Crosia, Talbot County, November 13, 1732; and the first President of the United States of America under the Confederation was John Hanson, also a native of Maryland, and at the time of his election, one of her delegates in Congress.

A REMINISCENCE
OF THE
TROUBLOUS TIMES OF APRIL, 1861.

1861

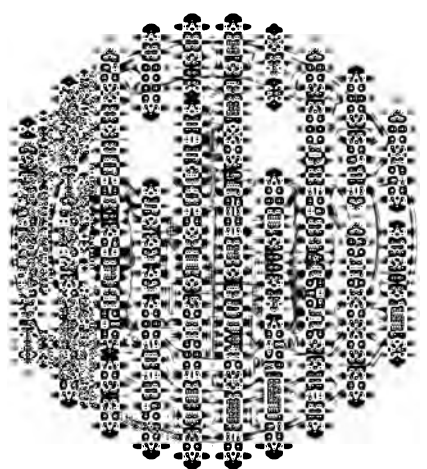
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A REMINISCENCE
OF THE
TROUBLOUS TIMES OF APRIL, 1861.

*Mr. President, and Gentlemen of
The Historical Society,—*

N EARLY thirty years have passed, since the event to which this Paper refers and which at your request Mr. President, I have the honor to submit, occurred. Some of those whom I address, participated in the painful anxieties of the time, and perhaps in the courage of their convictions, were subsequently active in the momentous struggle then inaugurated. To others, fortunate in a later birth, the succeeding incidents of the great war are familiar as matters of history. To both classes, the interest is, and will continue to be intense. I need not, therefore, apologize for recalling some features of the case which though local in their character, were pregnant with grave consequences to the people of this City and State, and created a fierce and influential excitement in other sections of the country.

The pivots upon which the aggrandizement or overthrow of Empires turn, are apt to be small, and apparently unimportant; but he who traces the lines of historic sequence, cannot so regard them. The passage of troops enrolled for the protection of a beleaguered Capital and an imperilled Federal Government, through the territory of a State, still in the Union, would seem to be a matter of right, simple enough in its nature, and which under ordinary circumstances would neither have created comment, nor excited opposition. At the period we are considering however, the circumstances were in a high degree extraordinary, and such transit was held by many to involve a vital principle and a high political right. A significant importance attaches therefore to all the steps that were taken to claim for the special surroundings, the fullest consideration on the part of the general government and involved the right to ask that existing arrangements that threatened so much serious disaster, should be wisely modified, so that the inevitable conflict between the troops then on the outskirts of the City and our own citizens armed to oppose them might be happily avoided. What was done therefore on this line, has its special value, for by it the dreaded emergency was avoided, while at the same time the instant needs of the Government were met. But more than this was attained, for in my own opinion, the result of such armed conflict

would have gone far towards pressing Maryland into the column of the seceding states with the probable effect of making her the battle-field of the opening war, and the burdenbearer of the lamentable consequences that fell upon her neighboring and sister state.

I may here be allowed the briefest reference to the general condition of the country just antedating and immediately succeeding our local troubles. One month before their occurrence, the 36th Congress terminated. South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Alabama, Texas, and Virginia, have ceased to be States of the Union, and by November 1861, Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, had also passed ordinances of secession.

The closing session of the 36th Congress, will remain distinguished in history as the battle-field of the mightiest conflict of opposing principles that has occurred since the formation of the Government. In it were developed the fiercest passions, the bitterest sectional animosities, the most patriotic conservatism; and the most earnest spirit of moderation. The struggle of the sections with each other was fierce almost to the shedding of blood on the floor of the House, but though far as the poles apart as to the grounds of their contention, they dominated Congress in a practical consensus that

overpowered all conservative counsel, and their united voices were all for war.

In some of the Border States, and conspicuously in Maryland, every effort was made to arrest the alternative by the suggestion of measures calculated to reach a solution of the pending questions, wise in their nature and seeking to deal fairly with the differing interests. As however, "inter arma silent leges," so, in so mighty a contention, such suggestions were futile and such voices unheard. Looking backward with that "hindsight" that is always so much wiser and clearer than any foresight we possess, it is easy enough to see that the great issue to which the country had through long years been tending, could not have been, was not intended to be avoided. War was its logical point of culmination, and it came. Neither with the causes that led up to it, nor the motives or influences acting upon individuals or states, have I anything whatever to do on this occasion. As one great fact of the centuries past, it will go down with its sad memories and its heroic achievements through the centuries to come. With us, it is a thing of the past, never to be forgotten, but past! The winds of Heaven that return again in their circuits, have blown the smoke of its battle-fields together with its great fame over the whole earth; and happily for us, time, that softens asperities and knits again the ties of brotherhood, enables us to

unite in a common appreciation of some of the great results it wrought out.

From the morals of the nation it has removed the stain, and from one great section of the country it has lifted the burden of slavery. The imperative necessity of labor it entailed, has broken the inertia that so long limited the development of the Southern States, in which there has now come to the front, a new generation, full blooded and earnest; that while it may remember the traditions of its past, is instinct with the energies of its present; and which, purposeful and practical, is building up again that beautiful land whose homes were shattered and whose fields were devastated, with a success that is phenomenal, and that promises to be enduring.

It has done more than this. It has consolidated an inseparable Union, and developed in the American people a capacity for war, that is at once a wonder and an admonition to all nations. It has also placed upon the roll of the world's great captains, the achievements of leaders whose reputation equals, if it does not eclipse, that of the most distinguished Generals of the age; while it has presented to the military criticism of Europe, a soldiery that, fresh from the peaceful avocations of life, developed an endurance and illustrated a gallantry, under whichever flag they fought, that compels our unstinted and impartial admiration.

And so out of seeming evil, hath good come, and he who to-day, would recall that great event or review the momentous incidents that preceded or accompanied it, to perpetuate bitterness and foment animosity, is recreant to our manliest instincts and antagonizes the controlling sentiment of the American people.

On coming into the City from my residence in Baltimore County, on Saturday, the 20th of April, 1861, I found a terrible condition of excitement existing, and was assured by many gentlemen who represented both phases of the popular feeling, that a large body of troops, supposed to be the Seventh Regiment of New York, had crossed the Susquehanna and were believed to be near the Gunpowder in full march toward the City en route to Washington; and that the certain armed opposition they would encounter in their attempted passage through Baltimore, would ensure a repetition upon a far larger and more serious scale, of the disastrous incidents of the preceding day, leading not only to much bloodshed but certain to result hurtfully to the character and interest of the City. Satisfied of the correctness of these conclusions from my own knowledge and observation, it occurred to me, that, as I had just terminated a service of six years in the House of Representatives, from a district composed in large part of the City of Baltimore, if the Honorable Anthony Kennedy, who was at the

time in the Senate, would unite with me in representing to the President, the exact condition of affairs, some modification of existing arrangements might be obtained by which the grave dangers apprehended, would be avoided ; and that as it was reported that the troops from New York had been halted by the Government at the Susquehanna, those approaching the City through Baltimore County, and at the time only some twenty miles distant, might also be diverted to some other route.

Mr. Kennedy instantly assented to the propriety of the proposed visit, and on being informed of our purpose, Mr. Garrett, the President of the Baltimore and Ohio, promptly put at our service an Engine and Car, and we left the City at twenty minutes to one o'clock, having telegraphed to the President asking an interview on our arrival. Having a clear road, the rate of travel was at a speed more remarkable than comfortable.

On reaching Washington we found a carriage awaiting us and a message from the President, that he would see us immediately. We found him engaged with the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, to whom, after greeting us cordially, he suggested that they would lay aside their business and hear at once the purpose of our visit. We then stated to him what we understood to be the gravity of condition. The great excitement and the exasperation of feeling in the City consequent upon the

painful occurrences of the previous day, intensified by the knowledge that a large body of volunteer troops from Pennsylvania were on their march to, and within some twenty miles of the City. We urged that while the State had always been loyal to the Government, and steadfast in her adhesion to the Union, and that in our judgment that was still the attitude of the majority of her people, and while the Governor had done everything calculated in his judgment to maintain this position and as we had understood was prepared to recognize the call of the President for troops; yet that Maryland was a Southern State; allied to that section by sympathies of blood, of sentiment, geographical position, and her large slaveholding, manufacturing, and business interest, and had so far with her whole energy of purpose and action successfully breasted the tide of the secession movement, it could not be denied that a considerable number of her people, especially concentrated in the City, were fully in sympathy with it and were there organized and armed to resist the passage of troops through the City. That practically its government was in the control of this element, and while both the Mayor, and the Chief of Police, though the latter sympathized with the South, had courageously and nobly exerted themselves to protect the Massachusetts Regiment the previous day, it was more than doubtful whether they would be

able to control the far more serious outbreak that would attend the attempted passage of the approaching levies only a part of whom were reported to be fully armed; that the outlets of streets through which they would enter were barricaded and guarded by armed men of whom it was understood nearly four thousand were prepared to oppose their entry. That the City was rapidly becoming a camp, and that collision was certain, and that we were confronted, whichever side was successful in the fight, with tumult and bloodshed, with a probable conflict between our own citizens. We further insisted that it was worth considering what would be the effect on the other Border States still steadfast in their adhesion to the Union, and whether such consequences as I had outlined were calculated to strengthen the Government; that so far as the Union sentiment in Maryland was concerned, given a fair field, it would be found able to take care of itself, and that we thought something might be conceded to the interest and good name of the chief City of the State, especially as what was asked of the Government, was really but a choice between two ways of attaining an end.

The President listened with courtesy and attention to the statement and replied, that he appreciated the difficulties of our position. That the troops ordered to Washington were essential for the defence of the Capital, then threatened, and

liable at any moment to assault. That it was intended they should pass through peaceably, giving offence to no one, and doing nothing calculated to excite opposition. That he had been led to believe that their transit through the State would be peaceable and unopposed, and expressed great surprise at the occurrences of the day before, and was proceeding with some feeling to comment on them, when I begged him to recall the fact that the authorities of the City, as well as the Governor, had done all they could at great personal risk to protect the troops and that the Mayor and Chief of Police had put themselves at the head of the column in its progress through the streets.

The President said he took back the remark I seemed to consider unjust. That he did not desire to say anything calculated to produce angry or unpleasant feeling, and stated that he believed the authorities had acted in a prompt and honorable manner. He then went on to enlarge upon the embarrassments of the Government, and said that he was there at its head by the voice of the People, charged with its administration, entrusted with the defence of the archives of the Government and the safety of the Federal Capital. That he must perform the duties incumbent upon him, that the Capital was threatened and must be reinforced; that under the circumstances the only avenue by which reinforcements could be obtained, was

through the State of Maryland; that prominent gentlemen accredited by the authorities of the City and the Governor of the State, had seen him at an earlier hour that morning and had made statements as to the condition of things in Baltimore corresponding with my own; that in their presence he had asked General Scott if they could get the troops on without further inflaming the people of Baltimore, and the General had suggested that it might be done by marching them around the City; that with this arrangement those gentlemen were satisfied and gratified, and he had authorized such an arrangement; that we now came to him to demand that the troops should not be marched through Maryland at all; that the demand, or statement that the troops would not be allowed to pass through the State, was equivalent to the abdication of the Government, and that he might as well abdicate or at once go and hang himself on the first tree.

At this point of the conversation with the President, the Secretary of the State, Mr. Seward, said that he fully appreciated the troubles surrounding us in Baltimore, but insisted that those of the Government at Washington were also entitled to be considered by us, that they had been placed by the people at the Federal Capital, charged with its keeping and the archives of the Government, that they must have reinforcements, and that the aban-

donment of the Capital might involve the destruction of the Government, and insisted that no troubles now surrounding us at Baltimore, or that we were likely to encounter, were to be compared with the terrible consequences of the breaking up of the Federal Government.

I replied that it was evident we were misunderstood upon two of the points referred to. That we had come authorized by no one to make demands, nor had we in fact made any. That our visit was influenced solely by a sense of duty and the earnest hope that a candid presentation of existing facts which we thought the authorities should clearly appreciate in their own interests, as well as our own local involvement, might possibly tend to the preservation of peace, that the circumstances were peculiar and the emergency in our judgment a very serious one. That as for myself, I suggested no question of the right of the Federal Government under existing circumstances to pass its troops through one of the States of the Union, but that we did urge with great solicitude the question of the wisest and least dangerous mode of exercising the right, and that we could not but regard the imminent contingency of an armed conflict in the streets of the City as certain still further to complicate dangerously the general situation, as well as bringing in its train consequences locally disastrous.

My associate, Senator Kennedy, concurred in the views thus presented and very earnestly enforced them, and during his conversation with the President, Mr. Seward took me to one of the windows overlooking the Potomac and pointing to the heights of Arlington said, "Mr. Harris, what would you think of our position if I were to tell you that behind those heights, men were now excavating for redoubts, and that lower down the River batteries were already erected. I replied that it would be very painful news to me, and I was far from underestimating the perilous position of the Government, but that I was one of many who thought that the terrible troubles of the Country might even yet be in reach of adjustment and that instant effort should be made to settle them without the horrible alternative of Civil War, but that if so fortunate a result was not possible, the Government must accept its responsibilities and we must meet ours.

Mr. Kennedy having closed his conversation with the President, we rose to leave, when the President said, that he wished us to go to General Scott's Quarters and have a conversation with him. I remarked that it seemed hardly necessary to do that as we supposed we were already possessed of the views of the Government. No, said he, I prefer that you should see General Scott; that we must be aware that Government was acting under the advice of experienced military men. That

General Scott might be able to give us important information and that he wished us to see him.

We went at once to the General's Quarters, but as the door of the Council Chamber was closing behind us we heard from some one in the room, the exclamation; "God save the country." I should mention that during the greater part of the interview with the President, the Secretary of the Navy was also present but took no part in the conversation.

General Scott whom we both knew well, received us very cordially, and our interview with him was less restrained. We made substantially the same statement as to the President, though in a more full and unconventional manner, telling him what had occurred at the Executive Mansion, and that we had come at the request of the President who had directed us further to say to him that he would accept in advance any conclusions that he, General Scott, might reach. The General after hearing attentively all that we had to say, stated the purposes for which the troops were needed at Washington; the inoffensive manner in which it was desired to march them; the fact that Maryland was the natural highway for their advance; that there was no other mode of obtaining the requisite reinforcements; that Washington, though an open town, was rapidly approaching the condition of a close siege; that desiring to avoid as much as pos-

sible excitement on the part of the people of the City and State, he was willing that other troops should pass from the Susquehanna to Annapolis and thence to Washington; that he had no assurance of transportation from Annapolis, nor did he know that the transport boat at the Susquehanna would not be seized; that in diverting these troops from Baltimore and ordering their transit by Annapolis, he thought that the comparatively sparse population between that point and the Capital would tend to avoid collision. We suggested that even if collision should occur on that route, it would be very different in character from a conflict in the streets of a City of over two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, in which it was well known there was an armed and organized force of several thousand men determined to provoke the conflict. "Well," he replied, we will obtain the reinforcements, peaceably if possible, but that they did not mean to be shut up like rats in a trap, and that if they could not get the reinforcements in any other way, they must cut their way through; but that while the need of Government was such as to make reinforcement essential, he wished to do everything possible to avoid offence or aggravation to our people, and was willing to order the troops we referred to to pass by another route. He expressed great anxiety on the subject and his earnest desire that the movement might be quietly made, but that

they must have the troops ; and suggested that we should all go to the War office and talk the matter over with Secretary Cameron.

We went accordingly to the Department of War, and made substantially the statement we had submitted to the President and General Scott. It encountered prompt and positive opposition from the Secretary, and a long and heated discussion ensued. At length, the Secretary seemed more disposed to appreciate the difficulties of the situation, and we suggested their avoidance by the concentration of the troops at Annapolis, and their transit by rail from that point to Washington. This plan met the approval of General Scott, as it relieved the case of the apprehended trouble of possible conflict if the troops marched through the country. The Secretary, however, insisted that transportation by rail was out of the question, as he was sure that the Railroad Company would refuse to concede it. Believing that the arrangement could be made however, we urged him to relieve the difficulty in the mode we suggested, and which General Scott was willing to adopt, upon our obtaining from Mr. Garrett his assurance that he would see that the necessary arrangements should be made for the transfer of the troops from Annapolis. The Secretary continued very incredulous on this point, but after much further conversation not necessary to repeat, he finally assented

to the proposed plan provided we obtained from Mr. Garrett such assurances as would satisfy him that the transportation would be furnished which however he was satisfied we would not succeed in obtaining. Differing with him, however, in this opinion, we returned to the City, and informed Mr. Garrett who was anxiously awaiting our report, of all that had been done and the ultimatum of the Secretary of War. He promptly concurred in the arrangement, and a telegram was at once sent to the Secretary giving the required assurance.

In the evening of the same day, Mr. Kennedy and I had an interview, by request, with the Police Board then practically in control of affairs in the City and reported what had been the incidents and outcome of our voluntary mission, and upon consultation it was thought desirable, in view of some of the peculiar features of the local situation, and the visit we were to make to the Camp of the Pennsylvania troops then near Cockeysville, in Baltimore County, which had been arranged at the War office, that some action should be taken by the Board, and the letter which follows was given us, in the way of municipal credentials.

“OFFICE BOARD OF POLICE.

BALTIMORE, *April* 21, 1861.

“Honorable Anthony Kennedy, Senator, and J. Morrison Harris, Representative in the House of

Representatives, are the gentlemen in whose hands this is placed.

“They had an interview yesterday (Saturday), about three o’clock, P. M., in Washington with his Excellency, President Lincoln. They proceed at the request of the Civil Authorities of Baltimore, to state to the commanding officers of any bodies of troops from other states whom they meet, the assurances given to them, with the anxious desire to prevent such occurrences as would at this juncture inevitably result from the approach of such troops to the vicinity of the City.

“By Order of The Board of Police,

“CHARLES HOWARD,
President.

“J. C. BLACKBURN, *Acting Mayor.*

I concur in the above.”

To this was affixed the official Seal of the Board.

On the morning of the 21st, accompanied by a General Officer detailed from the War office, we started for Cockeysville. The troops in question were found encamped on an eminence some distance beyond that point. There were, we understood, about eleven hundred of them. They appeared to be raw levies and we were told that not more than a couple of hundred of them were provided with arms. We had an immediate interview with the

officer in command who was a very courteous gentleman and evidently impressed by the difficulties of his position, and who had taken every precaution in his power to guard against surprise. The congregation of several hundred armed men in full view at Cockeysville, and the bitter and outspoken threats that were uttered by those who hung around his camp, evidenced only too plainly the popular feeling, and the message we brought to him from Washington, by which without dereliction from duty he was justified in changing his environment, corroborated as it was by the concurrence of the Army Officer, General Howard, who accompanied us, gave him evident relief. I have said the message, we brought, as not having yet been regularly mustered into the service, he was not the subject of a formal order from the Department. After talking over the whole business, we entered into a sort of irregular convention under which he decided to counter-march his forces to the Susquehanna and await the further direction of his route. As we passed through the Camp, and saw the condition of his men and noted how many of them were without arms, and recalled the state of feeling in the City and the steps that had there been taken to repel their approach, we could not but realize that a great impending calamity had been avoided by what had been accomplished in the interest of all parties concerned.

As we drove back we found a crowd of some four to five hundred men collected around the Tavern and in the road at Cockeysville, who were in a state of wild excitement. We had passed up to the Camp without notice, but it had apparently become known, or was suspected that our errand had been for the purpose of preventing the movement of the troops toward the City, and as incautiously our driver stopped in the midst of the crowd to water his horses, we were assailed with expressions of opinion far more emphatic than polite or reassuring. Some of the crowd suggested that we should be hauled out and dealt with on the spot; while others more kindly disposed directed the driver to get on with all possible speed. Just as we were starting, an incident occurred that illustrated the temper of the times. Our army friend who was sitting beside me, touched me sharply on the arm saying, "Look at that man standing out there on the right, he has taken dead aim at one of us and I think you are in for it." I was quickly of his opinion for I seemed to see down the whole length of the rifle he was pointing at us, and which fortunately was at the moment suddenly struck up, as I learned afterwards, by a personal friend of mine who stood beside him. We were, however, chased by some of the party for a long distance but were able to make better time, and got to the City without further molestation. We found the heads of the principal streets opening into Baltimore

County and by which the troops from Cockeysville were expected to enter, barricaded and guarded by armed men who swarmed in all directions, and thus left no room for doubt as to the consequences that would have ensued had their passage through the City been attempted.

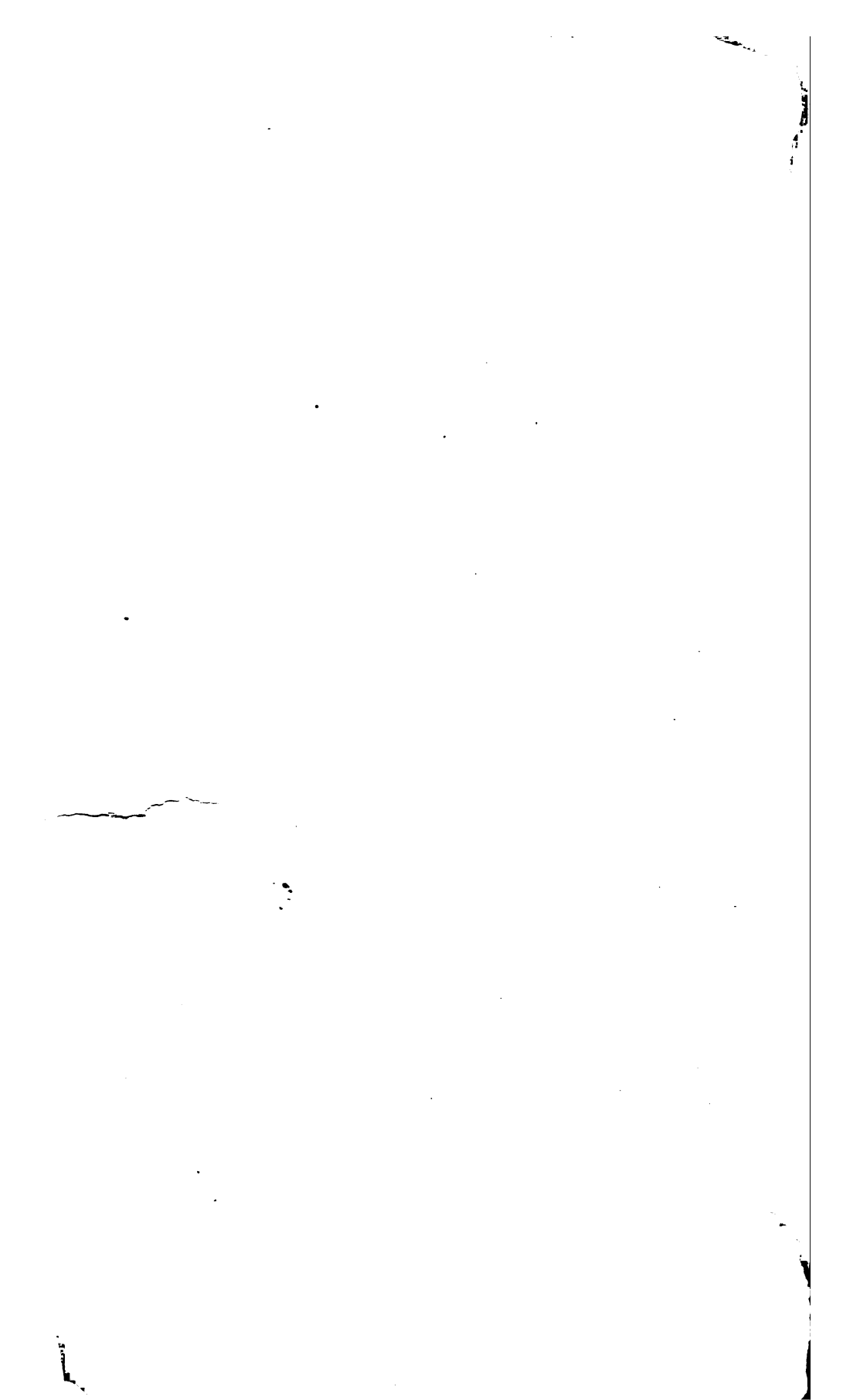
It may be interesting to mention that the Honorable Salmon P. Chase was present during the discussion at the War office, and in talking over the condition of affairs generally expressed to me with much earnestness, the opinion that the best way out of the difficulty would be to let the Cotton States go and trust to arrangements of amity and commerce for the preservation of peace and their ultimate return to the Union.

Let me also remark that other efforts were made to avoid our local troubles by Messrs. John Brune, S. Teackle Wallis, Judges Dobbin and Bond, and later by Judge Dobbin, Mr. Wallis, and the then Mayor, Honorable George William Brown, which are all fully referred to in the publication made not long since by the latter; and which were earnest and influential in controlling the results finally obtained.

J. MORRISON HARRIS.

IVY HILL, BALTIMORE COUNTY,
March 9th, 1891.

[MEM.—The statements of the interviews referred to in the foregoing paper are made from full notes written in April, 1861, immediately after the events occurred.—J. M. H.]



LA FAYETTE'S
SECOND EXPEDITION TO VIRGINIA
IN 1781.

RGINIA

Society,

PEABODY PUBLICATION FUND.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION.

1891-92.

HENRY STOCKBRIDGE,
BRADLEY T. JOHNSON,
CLAYTON C. HALL.

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PRINTERS TO THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
BALTIMORE, 1891.

LA FAYETTE'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO VIRGINIA IN 1781.

IT has been said that there was, properly, no *second* expedition to Virginia led by La Fayette, because the troops under his command that proceeded from Elkton by water on the way to Virginia, only went as far as Annapolis; but as La Fayette himself went to Virginia at that time, and, as the whole body returned to Elkton and started again under fresh orders from the commander-in-chief, and with a different object, I deem it proper to call the expedition that went by land, and which reached Virginia, the *Second Expedition*.

As far as I know, no connected account of this expedition has been written, including the part taken by La Fayette individually, and by the troops he commanded, and I regard it as consonant with the objects of this organization to preserve in a form easily accessible, all facts that will enable those who are to succeed us to have full

knowledge of even the minute circumstances connected with the Revolutionary struggle.

In order, therefore, to enable the student to comprehend the importance of the expedition which is the subject of this paper, it is necessary to place before him the situation of the country, and the prospects of the American cause in the beginning of the year 1781, including the state of public sentiment, the condition of the finances, the situation and strength of the armies, and the objects of the campaign of that year.

We had fought many battles since blood was first shed at Lexington in 1775. Bunker Hill, Trenton, Brandywine, Camden, and King's Mountain, and other bloody fields had attested the determination of the American people to be a free and independent nation; yet no battle like Zama or the Boyne, or Waterloo, had changed the policy and the hopes of the nations that contended for supremacy on the American continent.

The war had been waged more than five years; yet nothing had appeared to lift the gloom that shrouded the American cause, save the French alliance and the French material aid. There was not even a confederation of the states, for Maryland, the last State to give in her adhesion to that flimsy compact, had not yet done so.

The want of a concentrated federal power threatened total ruin to the cause of Independ-

ence, and it may be safely said, that to ordinary human calculation, it was unwise to continue the contest.

The treasury was empty. The British had flooded the country with counterfeits of the American currency, and ten millions of dollars issued by Congress had to be called in from this cause.

I have seen a bill in which four hundred dollars was charged for a pair of boots, and one hundred dollars for a handkerchief, about that time, in the paper issues of the Government.

Calls made upon the states for men and money were often disregarded, and in general the response was dilatory and feeble.

Congress in 1779 called for eighty battalions to recruit the army. Not one of the states filled its quota, but Massachusetts led the states in responding to this call.

Many of the people, in all the states, openly aided the cause of the mother country, and more secretly wished it success in its efforts to crush out the infant Government.

The troops of Connecticut had mutinied, and the Pennsylvania line, their spirits depressed by thoughts of their needy families, with no pay, upon the verge of starvation in camp, and a vigilant and well provided enemy in front, had followed the pernicious example.

The general gloom had been increased by the treason of Arnold, and even the execution of André had been made by some of the wavering a justification for returning to their allegiance to the British crown, and it may well be said that "shadows, clouds and darkness" rested upon the land.

But the clouds had a silver lining.

That sturdy love of liberty that led the pilgrims from home and friends, and the graves of their fathers, to brave the perils of an untrodden wilderness, and to scorn the tomahawk of the savage; that spirit that glowed in the breast of Hampden, and that nerved the arm of the immortal Cromwell, was still alive, and on that spirit rested the hopes of all the friends of liberty that this land would yet be the "land of the free," because it was the "home of the brave."

Lord George Germain, the British Secretary of State for the colonies, in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, dated March 7th, 1781, says: "Indeed, so very contemptible is the rebel force in all its parts, and so vast is our superiority everywhere, that no resistance on their part is to be apprehended that can materially obstruct the progress of the King's armies in the speedy suppression of the rebellion; and it is a pleasing, though at the same time, mortifying reflection when the duration of the rebellion is considered, which arises from a view of the

returns of the provincial forces you have transmitted, that the American levies in the King's service are more in number than the whole of the enlisted troops in the service of the congress."

But, "Man proposes and God disposes," God, who wills not that "Man's inhumanity to man" shall make "countless thousands mourn" to the end of time, but wills that all men shall have life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in their own way, had given us to guide us in council and to lead us on the field of battle, that man, whose name is destined to be hallowed among all the generations of mankind—George Washington!

On him the people leaned. His unshaken faith in ultimate triumph, his perfect rectitude, his dignity and his blameless life, commanded the confidence and justified the hopes of our patriotic fathers. The army had almost ceased to exist, and only two armed vessels remained of the navy; the others had been captured or destroyed.

While the affairs of the states were in this desperate condition, General Clinton, who commanded the British forces in America, determined to send an expedition to Virginia under the traitor Arnold, consisting of a fleet of armed vessels and land forces to coöperate with it, in order to subjugate what was then the most important member of the Confederacy.

General Washington sent General La Fayette with a detachment from the main army in New

Jersey, to capture Arnold, if possible, and at least to impede his progress and circumscribe the area of his operations.

La Fayette had passed from Elkton to Annapolis in boats with his troops, and after a reconnoissance in Virginia, he was compelled to return to Elkton, because the French fleet that had been sent from Newport, R. I., under the Chevalier Destouches to coöperate with him, had been unsuccessful in an engagement with the British fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot off the capes of the Chesapeake, and had returned to Newport, leaving Arbuthnot with a superior naval force, in the Chesapeake Bay.

On the return of La Fayette to Elkton, the return also having been made by water, he received the following letter of instructions from the commander-in-chief:

“ NEW WINDSOR, 6 *Apr.*, 1781.

“ *My Dear Marquis,*—

“Since my letter to you of yesterday I have attentively considered of what vast importance it will be to reinforce General Greene as speedily as possible; more especially as there can be but little doubt that the detachment under General Philips, if not part of that under the command of General Arnold, will

ultimately join or in some degree coöperate with Lord Cornwallis. [Philips and Arnold were at this time in Virginia, and Cornwallis was in the Carolinas.] I have communicated to the general officers at present with the army, my sentiments on the subject; and they are unanimously of opinion that the detachment under your command should proceed to join the Southern Army. Your being already three hundred miles advanced, which is nearly half way, is the reason that operates against any that can be offered in favor of marching that detachment back, you will therefore immediately on the receipt of this, turn the detachment to the southward.

“Inform General Greene that you are upon your march to join him, and take his direction as to your route, when you begin to approach him.

“Previously to that, you will be guided by your own judgment, and by the roads on which you will be most likely to find subsistence for the troops and horses.

“It will be well to advise Governor Jefferson of your intended march through the State of Virginia; or perhaps it might answer a good purpose were you to go forward to Richmond yourself, after putting the troops in motion and having made some necessary arrangements for their progress. You will take with you the light artillery and smallest

mortars with their stores and the musket cartridges.

“But let these follow under a proper escort, rather than impede the march of the detachment, which ought to move as expeditiously as possible without injury to them.

“The heavy artillery and stores you will leave at some proper and safe place, if it cannot be conveniently transported to Christiana River, from whence it can easily be got to Philadelphia. You may leave it to the option of Lieut.-Colonel Stevens to proceed or not as he may think proper. His family is in peculiar circumstances, and he left in the expectation of being absent but a short time.

“Should there be other officers under similar circumstances, you may make them the same offers, and they shall be relieved.

“I will now mention to you in confidence, the true reason which operated with me, more than almost any other, in favor of recalling your detachment and forming another.

“It was the uneasiness among the field officers of those regiments which furnished the men, upon the appointment of Colonel Gimat and Major Galvan to commands in the corps.

“They presented a memorial to me upon the subject, and I gave them the true reason, which was, that the regiments in their lines were so

extremely thin of field officers of their own, that necessity, if nothing else, dictated the measure.

“ I have heard nothing of the discontent lately ; but should I find it revive again upon its being known that the corps is to continue together, I shall be obliged, for peace sake, to relieve those two gentlemen by officers properly belonging to the lines from which the regiments were formed. You will therefore prepare them for such an event, and tell them candidly the reasons, founded principally upon their having already had their tour in the infantry.

“ Should they be relieved, they will probably incline to continue with the Southern Army.

“ There is as much or more probability of their finding employment there, than with us, as we shall, from all appearances, remain inactive.

“ I am, my dear Marquis, &c.,

“ GEO. WASHINGTON.”

It will be observed that this letter of instructions is dated April 6th, at New Windsor, in Connecticut, distant about one hundred and fifteen miles east from New York, and therefore about two hundred and fifty miles from Elkton, where La Fayette received it. It is fair to presume that in those days of slow conveyance, several days were required to traverse this distance with horses,

which furnished the swiftest conveyance in the days of the American Revolution.

The letter from Washington giving the order for the return southward being dated April 6th, two hundred and fifty miles away, the fact that La Fayette was on the march on April 11th is a striking proof of the promptness of La Fayette in giving effect to even disagreeable orders, for he preferred to operate at this time in the North.

He left Elkton on the 11th of April, having under his command the following troops, as near as now can be ascertained :

INFANTRY.

Major-General Marquis De La Fayette.

Division Inspector, Major Wm. Barber, of New Jersey.

FIRST BRIGADE.

Brigade Major, Captain John Hobby, Tenth Massachusetts.

First Battalion.

Colonel Joseph Vose, of Massachusetts.

Major Caleb Gibbs, of Rhode Island.

Eight Massachusetts companies.

Second Battalion.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gimat.

Major John Palsgrave Wyllys, of Connecticut.

Five companies. Four Massachusetts and one Rhode Island company.

Third Battalion.

Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Barber, of New Jersey.

Major Jos. R. Reed (of H——), New Jersey.

Five companies. New Hampshire and New Jersey troops.

SECOND BRIGADE.

Brevet Brigadier-General Moses Hazen, of Canada.

Brigade Major, Captain Leonard Bleeker, First New York.

First Battalion.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ebenezer Huntingdon, of Connecticut.

Major Nathan Rice, of Massachusetts.

Four companies. Massachusetts and Connecticut troops.

Second Battalion.

Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton, of New York.

Major Nicholas Fish, of New York.

Four companies. Two New York and two Connecticut troops.

Third Battalion.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, of South Carolina.

Major John N. Cumming, of New Jersey.

Four companies. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut.

Fourth Battalion.

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Antrill.

Major Tarleton Woodson.

Hazen's Canadian Regiment.

The names of all the aids of the division commanders do not appear. In the campaign, La Fayette had Majors George Washington (nephew of General Washington), Richard C. Anderson and Wm. Archibald, of Virginia, and Captain Angus Grème, an officer of the French Army.

La Fayette, in his memoirs, says the richest young men of Virginia and Maryland had come to join him as volunteer dragoons; and from their intelligence, as well as from the superiority of their horses, they were of essential service to him.

But while the army records show that La Fayette's division comprised these at the siege of Yorktown, it is known that at least one of the officers named here was not with the army on its march through Maryland. This officer was Alexander Hamilton, a man whose talents and virtues entitled him to the proud position among the sons of men, given him by that supreme judge of human capabilities—the renowned Talleyrand.

Talleyrand, when in this country in 1794, seeing Hamilton at work in his office late at night, said: "I have seen one of the wonders of the world, I have seen a man laboring all night to support his family, who has made the fortune of a nation. I consider Napoleon, Fox and Hamilton the three greatest men of our epoch, and without hesitation I award the first place to Hamilton."

Hamilton became, on the death of Washington, commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States.

La Fayette wrote a letter in the old house still standing near Bald Friar, in Harford county, to Hamilton, in which he expressed the hope that he would remain with Washington, but entreating him, in case he took service in the field, to join *him* in the South. It is certain, therefore, that Hamilton was not then with him in Harford county, but that he joined him afterwards is equally certain. La Fayette himself, after leaving Elkton, passed the first night at the house of Job Haines, near Rising Sun, while part of his troops encamped at the Brick Meeting-house, and another part near Rising Sun in Cecil county.

It is among the traditions of the neighborhood, that on leaving Mr. Haines', after spending the night there, he gave each of Haines' sons a piece of money.

To one of the sons, named Louis, he gave a gold piece, because he was of the same name as La Fayette's sovereign, the unfortunate Louis XVI.

The next day they crossed the Susquehanna at Bald Friar, where La Fayette became the guest of Colonel James Rigby, then one of the chief citizens of Harford county.

Colonel Rigby seems to have been a man of importance in his day, for there is still standing

near his house a log building that was used as a jail in his time.

It seems to be constructed of yellow poplar logs, laid close together, and it was, doubtless, when in good order, a secure place of confinement for ordinary criminals who were without edge tools.

Colonel Rigby seems to have had no sons who had descendants. The name has therefore disappeared from the county, as far as I know ; but his descendants remain with other names, one of his great grandsons being James Rigby Massey, Esq., a highly respected citizen of the region in which his distinguished ancestor dwelt. I trust I shall be excused for giving even the minutest details of this expedition, for I believe that what is interesting to myself in connection with the great events of our history, will be interesting to most men in the years that are to come.

As I stated in a former page, the affairs of our struggling country were in an almost hopeless condition.

The troops with La Fayette were from the northern states—some of them even from Canada, and they had shown great aversion to a southern campaign. They were on the verge of mutiny, and it was predicted with confidence, that not half of his force would be with him when he reached Baltimore.

The heart of La Fayette was full of a lofty confidence; but we who enjoy the fruition of his labors can imagine the difficulties of his position and thank God that he was gifted with such signal power to meet them.

In imagination we can go back to that night in the early spring of 1781, and to the capacious fireplace with its blazing logs in the old Rigby mansion.

The old fireplace was in one of those wonderful chimneys that seem to have been the pride of our forefathers, and has been a marvel to persons now living. The present owner of the property pulled it down some years ago, and after building from it a modern chimney, had bricks enough from it to build a capacious outbuilding, and great store of bricks left over.

In the fields about the house the men and horses had such food and shelter as their scanty commissariat afforded. A consultation was held. General Hazen was there, and Colonels Vose and Gimat, Barber, Huntingdon and the other field officers.

What was to be done to stop desertion? A proclamation was prepared that night in this old house that may have achieved the independence of the United States of America!

Who can tell the influence of the act most insignificant in the lives of men, or in the history of nations?

Jefferson used to say that we were indebted to *flies* for the Declaration of Independence.

He said that after much debate in Congress, it was found impossible to come to a vote on the declaration by reason of the parliamentary tactics of the opposition. Delay was increasing the strength of the friends of the old government, when on a hot summer afternoon a great gust of wind and rain approached. The heat was great, and the stocking-covered legs of the grave congressmen were besieged by hungry flies.

They beat their limbs with their bandannas, in vain efforts to obtain relief. The friends of independence saw their opportunity and proposed an immediate vote.

Rather than endure such torment, a vote was allowed, and independence was carried. Jefferson expressed the belief that if there had been no flies, there would have been no independence.

What would have been the fate of France if Grouchy had not mistaken Bonaparte's orders at Waterloo?

Had Richard Cromwell possessed the ability of his great sire, what would have been the history of England for the last two hundred years?

If Williams, Van Wart and Paulding had been corrupt, what would have been our own history since the treason of Arnold?

If La Fayette and his officers had not devised a plan by which desertion was ended in the army under his orders, it is probable that Cornwallis would not have been captured, and as a consequence the American colonies might have been still dependencies of Great Britain.

They determined to appeal to the noblest feelings of the soldiers, not to their fears, not to their greed of gain.

La Fayette, from this old house in Harford county, issued a proclamation in which he stated that he was on his way to meet and fight a powerful foe. That for himself, no diminution of numbers would deter him, but that in firm reliance upon the God of battles, and the justice of the American cause, he would continue his march to meet the enemy.

He closed by offering a free pass to every soldier who would apply for it at headquarters, by which he might go home.

Not one man availed of this offer, and from that time desertions ceased. But La Fayette's conduct on this occasion reminds us of the exhortation of Cromwell to his soldiers—"Trust in God, but keep your powder dry," for he hung one soldier and disgraced another who had been caught, after a previous desertion.

His trust was not *altogether* in the smiles of Providence, or in the honor of his troops.

In the passage of the river, the scow which La Fayette was in ran aground before dry land was reached, and Aquilla Deaver, a man known to men whom I have known, carried him from the scow to the shore on his back.

Deaver went to Port Deposit in 1824 to see La Fayette, when he held a reception there.

He told the General that he was the man who had carried him to the Harford shore on his back, La Fayette remembered him and greeted him with great cordiality.

This old soldier lived, in the latter part of his life, in a house afterwards for many years owned and occupied by Samuel Harwood, and now owned by Jeremiah P. Silver, Esq., in the second district of Harford county.

One of his grandsons, now living, lately gave me some account of the old gentleman.

He seems to have been a philosopher, as well as a patriot, for his grandson states that in his latter years he received a pension as a revolutionary soldier, and that, dwelling in peace, the only break in the monotony of his life was when, twice a year, his pension fell due. Then he would get up his horse and wagon and drive to Baltimore. There he would collect his pension and lay in a stock of the comforts of life sufficient to last until his pension would fall due again, and chief among these comforts was always an ample supply of whiskey.

By his own direction he was buried in a corner of his own land, where he lies in an unmarked grave, and I commend the marking of it with a stone, properly inscribed, to this organization, as a matter consonant with its objects.

An old man who paid his respects to La Fayette on this occasion, told me some circumstances connected with that reception, one of which was this: the general was exceedingly urbane in his deportment, and had something pleasant to say to each person who was presented to him.

The old man, who was not then old, said that when La Fayette took the hand of the man who was presented before *him*, he expressed his pleasure at seeing him, and said, "Are you a married man?" Receiving an affirmative reply, he said, "Happy man." And when my informant immediately followed, La Fayette asked him the same question. He replied that he was not married, when La Fayette said "*Lucky dog*," and, smiling, greeted the next in the line of his grateful admirers.

It is not common for commanders to march with the body of an army, unless when in the presence of the enemy, and La Fayette seems to have passed rapidly through Harford and Baltimore counties, to Baltimore, for we are told that he reached there at night after leaving Bald Friar, or Susquehanna Ferry, as he calls it, in the morning of the same day. He dined, however, at *Bush*, in Harford

county, which information I have from an aged resident of that region whose father dwelt near Bush.

By way of showing the length of the links that connect us with the past, I will here state that I knew a lady well, in my early years, who met and talked with La Fayette on that day. She was with her brother on the way from Baltimore, and meeting La Fayette and his staff, they made some inquiries about the route. This old lady died in 1843, aged over eighty years, and she was therefore about twenty years old in 1781.

The troops marched by way of the Trappe Church, Priestford, and Bush, to Baltimore.

Before they reached the "Trappe" a trunk, said to contain coin, was lost from a baggage wagon. It was found by Reuben Jones, grandfather of some present residents of the fifth district of Harford county. Jones mounted a horse and, overtaking them, told them where the trunk was. They sent after it and Jones reproached them in language not polite, to the end of his days, for giving him no reward for the trouble he took.

There lived, a few years ago in Harford county, a gentleman whose father was on the staff of La Fayette in this march.

La Fayette did not command Frenchmen in the war of the Revolution, as some believe, but when he was ordered to Virginia with his detachment,

he asked and obtained leave to take with him Colonel Gimat and Captain Grème, French officers then with the French troops in the United States.

A son of Captain Grème, who lived to a great age, and died in my house in 1880, has often related to me incidents connected with this march, told him by his father or family.

When the officers reached that part of the road that descends to Priestford, from the "Trappe" Church, they were enchanted with the beauty of the scene.

Far the greater part of the region they had traversed was rough and forbidding. The agriculture was rude and the roads were bad. Looking westward, in descending to Deer Creek, they beheld the beautiful valley that stretches across the creek and up Jericho and Thomas' runs. The morning was one of those that still bid man "Look through nature up to nature's God," in the early spring.

"The flowers sprang, wanton to be pres't,
The birds sang love on every spray."

The plodding husbandman, "drove his team afield," the herds grazed in peace in the grassy fields, and the lark, soaring high in air, chanted his morning song.

Colonel Gimat and Captain Grème had long been soldiers together, and the sufferings and

triumphs of their profession had united them in more than a common friendship.

Gimat was a man of wealth, and death having robbed him in early life of her whose "witching smile" had caught his "youthful fancy," his chief aim was to seek some quiet spot, when wars alarms were past, where, in the company of his friend, he could be at peace.

The two friends then and there agreed that when the war was over, they would return to France, and, after arranging their affairs, they would return to America, buy the property, now the beautiful home of Dr. Magraw, and there,

"In the cool sequestered vale of life,"
Keep "the noiseless tenor of their way."

They did go home to France, and they did return, and purchased the property which they had selected as the home of their old age.

Gimat paid for it, and presented it to his friend, Grème, and they went back to France to make their final arrangements before leaving their old home forever.

They looked forward to many years in which each might "Shoulder his crutch and show how fields were won."

But "this world has no fulfilment for hopes that rise above it," and all their plans were frustrated.

That mighty *cyclone*, I may call it, the French Revolution of 1789 came on.

Napoleon Bonaparte, the mightiest of the race of man since Julius Cæsar, appeared upon the scene.

That wonderful man intoxicated the French people with the grandeur of his aspirations, and the marvels of his career.

Colonel Gimat and his friend, dazzled by the glory of France, and by the mighty achievements of her wonderful leader, deferred their return to America until peace and order should triumph over the horrors of the Revolution.

When order was restored at home, Gimat and Grème were induced to go with the French army to San Domingo to suppress the insurrection there.

Grème, in the meantime, had married in Paris, and taking his bride to Martinique, both intended to come from there to Maryland, when the insurrection was suppressed. But Colonel Gimat, the friend of Washington, the chosen companion of La Fayette, lost his life in San Domingo, falling a victim to the fury of the savage population of the island.

Grème did come, bringing with him his wife and several children, and he lived and died on the place he and his friend had chosen as the most beautiful spot they had seen in America. He lies buried, having died in 1800, in the grave-yard of

the Trappe Church, in Harford county, where a stone marks his grave, having an inscription stating his connection with the army under La Fayette.

Colonel Gimat seems to have been one of those rare men, "born to blush unseen," who live in the conscientious performance of every duty.

He led one division of the American army in the assault at Yorktown, and Alexander Hamilton led the other. They both captured the positions they attacked before the French troops succeeded in the part assigned to them, and crowned themselves with honor.

But, in the isle of San Domingo, where so many thousands of brave Frenchmen sleep,

"Where the flower of the orange blows,
And the fireflies glance in the myrtle boughs,"

rests the brave, the trusted, the honored, and the unfortunate Colonel Gimat.

Let every American, let every Frenchman, let every lover of the beautiful and the true in human character, cast a flower upon the grave of Colonel Gimat!

La Fayette was lionized in Baltimore, the chief citizens emulating each other in paying him such attentions as were due to his distinguished character.

A ball was given in his honor at the Assembly Rooms, then at the corner of Holliday and Fayette streets.

During the progress of the dance a lady asked La Fayette why he was so sad. He replied, that he could not enjoy the gayeties of the occasion, because his poor soldiers needed so many of even the necessaries of life, clothes being their chief want.

The lady replied, "We will supply them." Next day the ball-room was turned into a clothing manufactory, patriotic husbands and fathers supplied the material, and fair women plied the shears and the needle.

Colonel McHenry wrote to General Greene, April 16th, 1781, from Baltimore, "While I admire *your* policy, I have more than once pitied the Marquis' situation. His troops passed here yesterday, discontented almost to general desertion; destitute of shirts and proper equipments, and in most respects unprovided for a march. You know the Marquis, he has been with us two days; but in this time he adopted an expedient to conciliate them to a degree, that no one else would have thought of. To-day he signs a contract, binding himself to certain merchants of this place, for above two thousand guineas, to be disposed of in shirts, overalls, and hats for the detachment.

"Without these, the army could not proceed, and with these he has managed to reconcile them to the service.

“ He is also bent upon trying the power of novelty on their minds by giving to the march the air of a frolic.

“ His troops will ride in wagons and carts from Elkridge Landing to the limits of this State, and how much farther he will continue this mode of movement, depends upon Virginia.”

As stated by Colonel McHenry, at Baltimore he borrowed from merchants about two thousand pounds sterling, for which he gave them his personal obligation, payable two years after date.

This *time* was asked, as he states in a letter to Washington, dated April 18th, at Baltimore, in order to enable him to dispose of his estate to procure the means of repayment. The march from Baltimore was resumed, and on the 19th the troops encamped near Elkridge Landing, in sight of the place, where now a hundred trains a day, carrying thousands of passengers, and thousands of tons of merchandise, rush forward to and from the busy centres of population and commerce, propelled by, what was then, a force almost unknown. In crossing there in scows, one sank, and by this mishap, nine men were drowned.

They reached Alexandria on the 21st of April. There La Fayette bought some shoes for his needy troops, and they pursued their journey through Fredericksburg and arrived at Richmond on the 29th, where the detachment was joined by Baron

Steuben, General Muhlenberg, and the Virginia militia, commanded by General Nelson.

La Fayette had started on this expedition to reinforce General Greene in the states farther south, but movements had taken place that brought General Cornwallis to Virginia, and that State now demanded the full force of the armies for her defence.

Greene had met Cornwallis at Guilford Court-house, and the bloody battle had been fought at that place.

Cornwallis had been so reduced by that battle, and the long and exhausting marches preceding and following it, that his force had dwindled from near two thousand five hundred veteran troops, to but little more than fourteen hundred. He was in the midst of a hostile population, destitute of regular supplies, and encumbered with many sick and wounded. He was forced to seek a defensible position, where his exhausted troops might recuperate.

He therefore retreated to Wilmington, N. C., where he arrived on the 7th of April, the day after Washington wrote the letter instructing La Fayette to proceed to the South and reinforce General Greene.

His intention was, as soon as the vigor of his force was recruited, and reinforcements from Ireland, which he expected, arrived, to return to the

highlands to endeavor to aid the operations of Lord Rawdon in South Carolina. His plans were disconcerted by intelligence that Greene had rapidly marched toward Camden, S. C.

Cornwallis was greatly troubled, and his despairing expressions are almost comical.

"My situation here," he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, "is very distressing; Greene has taken advantage of my being obliged to come to this place, and has marched to South Carolina;" and further on he says, "I much fear that Lord Rawdon's posts will be so distant from each other, and his troops so scattered, as to put him in the greatest danger of being beaten in detail, and that the worst of consequences may happen to most of the troops out of Charleston."

It was too late to follow Greene with reasonable hope of averting the danger; before he could reach the scene of action the blow would have fallen.

After remaining several days at Wilmington, he decided to take advantage of the defenceless state in which Greene's southern march left Southeastern Virginia, to march into that region and form a junction with the force under General Phillips.

By this move he hoped to draw Greene away from Lord Rawdon and by the reduction of Virginia to make a great stride towards the subjugation of the whole country.

General Phillips was at Portsmouth, having under him three thousand five hundred men of that hardy material that forms the regulars of the British Army.

He left Portsmouth on the 16th of April, and proceeding up James River, reached Manchester, opposite Richmond, on the morning of April 30th, to find that La Fayette had reached there on the evening before.

La Fayette had been reinforced by two thousand militia, and sixty dragoons, and he posted himself strongly on the high banks that commanded the south side of the river.

History affords few more striking illustrations of the uncertainty of man's judgment, than the results of this memorable campaign afford.

Here was La Fayette, a youth, twenty-three years of age, with little experience in the science of war, commanding an inferior force, *in numbers*, and inferior in a greater degree in all that makes it possible for commanders to organize victory in the cabinet.

His forces, in the sense in which the British were regulars, men trained in the manual of arms and to the hardships of the life of the soldier in the field by long service, were all of them merely raw militia-men. About two thousand were soldiers called regulars, because they had enlisted for longer terms than the transient levies that should-

ered the musket when their homes were invaded, and, when the enemy left that immediate region, went home to tell the news. The remainder were of the kind last described. Opposed to him was Cornwallis, a veteran General of the regular British Army, of twice the age of La Fayette, yet still in the matured strength of vigorous life.

Cornwallis wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, "The boy cannot escape me," and "La Fayette cannot, I think, escape him," wrote Sir Henry Clinton to Lord George Germain, the British Colonial Secretary of State.

Here we see contempt for his adversary shown by this lordly soldier of the Crown, while La Fayette writes to his beloved chief that he had a "profound distrust of *himself*."

La Fayette, conscious of the superiority of the British Regulars in the open field, warily avoided an engagement, and marching northward formed a junction with General Wayne on the Rapidan.

Cornwallis, after the return of two ravaging expeditions which he had sent out under active officers, established his headquarters at Elk Hill, a plantation of Gov. Jefferson.

Thence he marched down the river to Williamsburg, where he arrived on the 25th of June.

An express from Sir Henry Clinton obliged Cornwallis to change his plans.

Washington threatened New York, and Clinton required Cornwallis to send him part of his troops for its protection.

It is a singular fact, that while Washington had no purpose to attack New York, his demonstrations against that place, which he made for the purpose of creating a diversion in favor of General Greene, by inducing Clinton to withdraw part of the British troops in the South to protect that city, had produced effects far more beneficial than he expected.

It is true, that at a conference held at Wethersfield on the 22d of May, between Washington and Rochambeau, it was decided that a concentration of the French and American forces in the neighborhood of New York was advisable, in order to be ready to take advantage of any opportunity which the weakness of the enemy might afford.

Yet it was not deemed wise to attack that place unless the force there was further weakened, and it was not further weakened, therefore there was no probability of such an attack. Clinton was alarmed. He wrote to Cornwallis, then at Williamsburg, Va., on the 11th of June, that New York was the object of attack by the combined French and American Armies, and required Cornwallis to send him three thousand troops from his command. Clinton wrote him that there was no

prospect of reëstablishing the power of the Crown in Virginia, so general was the disaffection there, and advised him to take any healthy position he chose.

On the 4th of July he took up his march to Portsmouth, which position he chose, because, if reduced to extremities, it afforded a chance of a retreat to the Carolinas.

His engineers, after the most extensive surveys, reported that ships in Hampton Roads would not be secured by works on Point Comfort, and Clinton had told General Phillips on his embarkation for the Chesapeake in April, that there was no place so proper as Yorktown for the protection of the King's ships.

As the successor in the command in Virginia, General Phillips having died in May, he felt bound by Clinton's opinions, in the absence of specific orders. Cornwallis earnestly advised Clinton against the establishment of a defensive post on the Chesapeake, and asked leave to give up the command to General Leslie, and for himself to go back to Charleston.

These requests were denied him, and on the 12th of July, he was directed to hasten the embarkation of the three thousand men ordered to New York.

Early in August, Cornwallis embarked his troops, and leaving Portsmouth, passed up the bay and landed his whole force at Yorktown.

Clinton had intercepted letters, written to deceive him, in which the attack on New York was stated to be the main object of the campaign.

It must be borne in mind that the intention of Washington up to this time was merely to prevent succor being sent from New York to the British commanders in Virginia, and further south.

But the lives of men are in the main alike, whether the individual has in hand the forces and the destinies of nations, or controls only the simple and the feeble means and forces of the humble dweller in the lowly cottage.

The vast future is opened to man by slow degrees; often his way seems barred by objects that appear to stop all further progress; then suddenly all difficulties vanish, and at other times, when all his wisdom has been exercised to give direction to his powers, the scene shifts as suddenly as the aspect of the sunset glow, and all his plans and labors must be shaped anew.

A son of General Rochambeau arrived at this time in the United States with the intelligence that the Count De Grasse had left the harbor of Brest, in France, destined for the French possessions in the West Indies, and that he had orders to sail to the United States in July or August.

The French frigate, "Concorde," arrived at Newport shortly after, with despatches from De Grasse, stating that he would leave San Domingo on the 3d

of August with twenty-five or thirty ships of the line, and a considerable land force, and that he would steer for the Chesapeake.

This changed the state of affairs, and the American and French commanders at once determined that all the French Army, and a large part of the American troops, should proceed at once to Virginia, and the Count De Barras, then at Newport, also determined to join De Grasse in the Chesapeake Bay.

Washington wrote to De Grasse, expecting his letter to find him in the Chesapeake, to send all the transports possible to Elkton (Head of Elk) by the 8th of September.

General Heath was put in command of West Point.

The utmost secrecy was observed and camps were marked out, ovens for baking bread were erected, and every preparation was made in New Jersey, as if the army would occupy that State in force. Late in August they turned their faces southward.

Clinton's eyes were at last opened. He resolved to make a serious raid into Connecticut in the hope that at least part of Washington's force would be faced about to save that State.

The command of this expedition was given to Arnold, who executed the orders of his chief with his accustomed vigor and success, and in that raid

he, who before was a traitor, earned additional ignominy by the massacre of the brave Ledyard and his soldiers at Fort Griswold.

Washington reached Philadelphia on the 30th of August, where he was received with every demonstration of confidence and affection, but the people wondered at the object of his visit. A ray of light had broken in the clouded sky of the nation; yet great difficulties existed still.

The troops gave evidences of discontent, their pay being long in arrears, and to march southward had always been distasteful to the troops from the North.

Even a small sum of money, it was thought, if judiciously employed amongst them, would put them in more cheerful mood.

The treasury of the nation was empty, and Morris, the financier, could supply no funds.

In this emergency, General Rochambeau came to the relief of Washington and loaned him twenty thousand dollars, which Morris engaged to pay by the 1st of October.

About this time Laurens arrived at Boston with about six hundred thousand dollars in coin, loaned by the French King, and then everything promised a successful issue for the great events in progress.

The American troops arrived in Philadelphia on the 2d of September; the French, in all the pomp and beauty and precision of military display,

arrived the day after. Washington left Philadelphia September 5th, on his way to Yorktown. Having passed Chester a few miles, an express met him conveying the intelligence that De Grasse had arrived in the Chesapeake with twenty-eight ships of the line, and three thousand troops, from San Domingo.

Washington was so overjoyed that he immediately returned to Chester, to rejoice with General Rochambeau over the cheering news.

Rochambeau had reached Chester by water. They met and had a joyful dinner together.

Washington reached Elkton the next day. The troops had begun to embark, and he wrote from there to De Grasse congratulating him on his arrival, and giving him all needful information in regard to his plans and his hopes. La Fayette was to effect a junction with the troops on board the ships of De Grasse, who were under the command of the Count De St. Simon, and the French and American Armies were to coöperate to prevent the escape, and finally to defeat and capture Lord Cornwallis.

Washington and Rochambeau crossed the Susquehanna at Havre de Grace on the morning of the 8th of September, and proceeded to Baltimore. Starting early on the 9th, Washington, having Colonel Humphries with him, left Baltimore and arrived at Mt. Vernon late on the same day.

Rochambeau arrived there in the evening of the next day, and the Marquis De Chastellux and his aids, on the 11th.

Washington had not been at his own fireside since his country called him to Cambridge more than six years before.

On the 12th of September they left Mt. Vernon and, proceeding to Williamsburg, joined La Fayette.

Cornwallis, meanwhile, had been aroused to a keen sense of danger, by the appearance of De Grasse in the bay on the 28th of August, and worked diligently to strengthen his position, calling, at the same time, on Sir Henry Clinton for more troops.

De Grasse urged La Fayette to attack the British at Yorktown before their defenses were completed; but La Fayette preferred to await the arrival of General Washington, with the forces under his command, being now assured that, if De Grasse remained in the Chesapeake, the British could not be reinforced.

At this time, Admiral Graves appeared off Cape Henry, with twenty sail of British war ships, which De Grasse regarded as a challenge to come out and fight him.

De Grasse did not decline the contest, but promptly weighed anchor and put to sea with twenty-four ships.

On the 7th of September the two fleets engaged at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when, after a severe battle, night closed the engagement.

The French had the weather gage of the adversary, and, after manœuvring in sight of each other for five days, neither party being anxious for a renewal of the fight, De Grasse, learning that a smaller French fleet had passed in the capes to the Chesapeake, returned to his anchorage in the bay, bringing with him two British frigates which he had captured.

Graves, crippled in the fight, bore away for New York. De Barras had brought with him a fleet of transports, with troops, artillery and munitions of war for the use of the Americans.

The French commander, aware of the presence of Washington and Rochambeau, and wishing to have a personal interview with them, sent the "Queen Charlotte," an elegant vessel recently captured at sea, with Lord Rawdon on board, up James River to convey the distinguished chiefs of the American Army down the bay to their vessel.

Washington, Rochambeau, Knox and Duportail proceeded to visit the French fleet on the 18th of September, and were received with the highest naval honors, the yards being manned and the national airs played by the bands of musicians on board the ships.

After agreeing upon plans to capture Cornwallis, Washington and his companions, on the same evening, again boarded the "Queen Charlotte" and started on their return to the James River; but contrary winds and storms delayed them so much that they were four days on the return passage.

At this time Admiral Digby arrived at New York with British troops and six war ships.

De Grasse, having been reinforced by the fleet of De Barras, panted for a sea fight with Digby, and proposed to take all but the ships at York River and seek him.

This would have seriously endangered the success of the campaign, for an English fleet might enter the Chesapeake at any moment, attack the four French ships at Yorktown, beat them, and bear Cornwallis and the troops away to attack us at some unprotected point. Washington was greatly disturbed at this prospect. He wrote De Grasse, urging him to remain, and made La Fayette bear the letter, in order that *his* personal appeals might give additional weight to his own arguments. De Grasse consented to remain, and it was agreed that a large part of the fleet should anchor in York River, while four or five vessels should patrol James River, to prevent Cornwallis' escape in that direction.

Clinton at this time wrote Cornwallis that twenty-three ships, under Admiral Digby, would

sail from New York for his relief on the 5th of October, having, also, five thousand land troops, and directed him, on hearing heavy firing at the mouth of the bay, to send up two columns of smoke to indicate his continued occupation of Yorktown.

In his reply, Cornwallis expressed the hope that the Americans would advance, and was confident of being able to hold his position until succor arrived.

The American and French land forces numbered about twelve thousand men, exclusive of the militia of Virginia under General Nelson.

By the 9th of October the investment of the place was complete, and Washington himself applied the match to the first cannon fired on the beleaguered place.

A furious cannonade was kept up until the night of the 14th, when it was determined to storm the British works; and, for this object, a detachment was made from both the French and American Armies, the Americans commanded by La Fayette, and the French by the Baron De Vio-menil.

La Fayette gave the honor of leading the advance to his trusted friend, Colonel Gimat. Colonel Hamilton loudly complained of the injustice of this, claiming the honor of leading the advance as his right, it being his tour of duty.

La Fayette's defense was the sanction Washington had given to the arrangement. Hamilton appealed by letter to Washington, who, finding it really was Hamilton's tour of duty, directed that Hamilton's wishes should be respected.

It was arranged that Colonel Gimat's battalion should lead, and that Hamilton's should follow, but that Hamilton should have command of both battalions.

Even when surrounded by suffering and death, man's nature still asserts itself, as if all was happiness and peace. Before the assault was made, the Baron De Viomenil had said to La Fayette that the French forces would accomplish their object, and would soon be in the entrenchments of the enemy, but he had some doubts as to what the untrained Americans would do.

The Americans, led by the brave Gimat and the impetuous Hamilton, captured the part of the defenses they attacked first, when La Fayette sent an aid to De Viomenil, stating that they were in the enemy's works, and asked if *he* had captured *his* part of the entrenchments, offering, also, to send the Baron help if he needed it.

De Viomenil replied, "Tell the Marquis that I am not in mine, but will be in five minutes." Cornwallis now attempted to escape, and, in the darkness of the night of October 16th, in the midst of a violent storm, he embarked a large part of his

forces in boats, intending to convey all over to the Gloucester side of the river, and to fight his way to the North and join Sir Henry Clinton at New York.

Part of them had crossed, and others had embarked, but the violence of the storm drove the boats down the river and threatened their destruction. With difficulty they regained the place of embarkation, and morning found them divided by the river.

He brought back those who had crossed, and awaited the inevitable.

On the 17th he proposed to capitulate, and, after the arrangement of the terms in great detail, on the 19th the British troops marched out of Yorktown and became prisoners of war.

This expedition had a most important influence on the great contest, from which we emerged a free and happy people.

It is almost certain that if La Fayette had not been in Virginia, Cornwallis, finding himself in danger, would have retreated to the South, and it is equally probable that, but for the importunity of Washington and La Fayette, De Grasse would have left the Chesapeake in search of Admiral Graves, in which case Cornwallis, having the freedom of the waters, would have returned to Portsmouth on his transports in the way he left there.

It is highly probable that if Cornwallis had not been captured, the American Revolution would have been a failure, while it is not probable that we should have been at this day subjects of Queen Victoria; for other causes, in later times, when our strength had become more matured, would have led to independence.

In 1781 France had need of peace, and further succors could not have been expected; without them, if the campaign of 1781 had been fruitless, we should have retired disheartened from the long and bloody contest.

When the mind has been long turned back to these eventful scenes in the days that are past, and when the *great actors* in the events that were fraught with such mighty influence upon the affairs of nations are about to pass from consideration, we cannot repress a kindly interest in their later lives.

Washington, we all know, lives in the memory of the American people, and is embalmed in their heart of hearts; and we know, too, that in all the earth, wherever letters are known, and even in the abodes of the untutored savage, who knows not the true God, his name is synonomous with all that is pure and noble in human character.

All "nations, and kindred, and tongues, and people" accord him the highest niche in the temple of eternal fame.

There is a beautiful and spontaneous tribute paid to the memory of Washington that is not known, perhaps, to many of the American people.

Some years ago I was on a steamboat coming up the Potomac River. Suddenly the tolling of the steamer's bell broke the stillness of the summer night. I arose and inquired the cause of it. I was told that we were passing the tomb of Washington, and I learned that it was never omitted by steamers when in front of Mt. Vernon. There happened to be a band of musicians on board, and, when the bell ceased its tolling, they struck up the inspiring strains of "Hail, Columbia."

Until that hour I had never comprehended, in its full force, the practical fact that Washington was indeed "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

The second great actor in the events of 1781 was the unfortunate Louis XVI of France.

Having suffered the keenest torments that can fall to the lot of man, he filled a bloody grave with thousands of his murdered countrymen, and it is not certain that any part of his remains were found when the attempt was made in 1815 to give them honored burial beneath the temple of glory that was begun by Bonaparte.

Sir Henry Clinton had an honorable career after the American war, and died Governor of Gibraltar.

Cornwallis rose to considerable eminence, and became twice, at periods wide apart, Governor General of India, and died in India while holding that responsible place.

Rochambeau became a Marshal of France, and narrowly escaped the guillotine during the reign of terror there. Napoleon made him a grand officer of the Legion of Honor. He died in 1807.

His son, who was with him as aid in this country, became a General in the French Army, and was killed in the dreadful battle of Leipsic, in 1813.

La Fayette was one of the world's heroes. Born to aristocratic privileges, he early espoused the cause of universal equality, and drew his sword in defence of the rights of man. He possessed very considerable military talent, as his campaign in Virginia abundantly proved. He had great influence in France, which was exerted at various periods in behalf of liberty and order. He visited the United States in 1824, and was received and entertained with distinguished honor, as the guest of the nation. During his visit, Congress voted him two hundred thousand dollars, in money, and a vast tract of the public lands.

I have stated that a view of the situation of the States, and of France in 1681, justifies the belief that we could not have succeeded in that war if Cornwallis had escaped at Yorktown.

We have seen that Cornwallis' invasion of Virginia was a diversion in favor of Lord Rawdon, who was attacked in the Carolinas by General Greene.

This plan of Greene's—leaving Virginia to be succored from the North, and marching against Lord Rawdon, which induced Cornwallis to march from North Carolina to Virginia, was urged upon General Greene by General Henry Lee, the father of the soldier who led the forces of the Southern Confederacy from 1861 to 1865.

Let the descendants of these great men, not regard the liberty secured by their sacrifices as a self-acting principle.

Let us not forget that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and that if that vigilance is slackened Constitutions are undermined by slow attack from the base and vicious elements that pervade all human society, until at last the fairest structures of human wisdom topple to their fall, perhaps to rise no more.

I conjure my fellow inheritors of the precious boon conferred upon us by the deeds of the great men whose actions we commemorate, to stand shoulder to shoulder in defence of every principle that belongs to our inestimable birthright.

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MARYLAND AND NORTH CAROLINA IN
THE CAMPAIGN OF 1780-1781.

9th they made a report, earnestly recommending the erection of a Maryland monument on the battle-field, and suggesting that the funds required for that purpose be raised by voluntary subscription among the members of the Society. The committee was instructed to carry into effect this recommendation: the plans were soon matured and carried out; the monument was unveiled with formal ceremonies on October 15th, 1892, and entrusted to the keeping of the Guilford Battle-Ground Company.

It is a rough block of Maryland granite, about five feet cube, raised upon a sodded base to the height of seven feet. Two of its faces are adorned with bronze tablets measuring 18 by 21 inches; one containing the arms of Maryland, the other the inscription of dedication:

MARYLAND'S TRIBUTE TO
HER HEROIC DEAD.
ERECTED BY MEMBERS OF
THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY,
IN MEMORY OF THE SOLDIERS
OF THE MARYLAND LINE.
1781-1892.
NON OMNIS MORIAR.

The site is a commanding one, overlooking the whole of that portion of the field which was the scene of the gallant conduct of the Maryland troops.

The following paper is substantially the same as the address of dedication, which was delivered on the battle-ground at the unveiling of the monument. Numerous quotations are embodied in the text, the purpose being to let the actors in

the drama and their contemporaries tell their own story ; though, to economize space, many of the citations have been condensed.

Acknowledgments are due to Major Graham Daves of New Bern, and J. S. Bassett, Esq. of Durham, N. C., for valuable assistance in collecting historical data.

BALTIMORE, *January*, 1893.

MARYLAND AND NORTH CAROLINA IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1780-1781.

THE erection of a monument by members of the Maryland Historical Society, on the battle-field of Guilford in North Carolina, in memory of the valour of Maryland soldiers, recalls to mind the many events of the Revolution in which the two States were brought together in helpful friendship or generous emulation. Each has won special distinction; both may be proud of their interesting and honourable record.

North Carolina was the mother of the Colonies, and within her borders was born the first white American. Her Regulators offered the first armed resistance to British authority, and at Alamance, in 1771, was shed the first blood in the struggle for liberty. At Mecklenburg, on 20th May, 1775, was made the first Declaration of Independence; and when hostilities had begun, North Carolina was the first Colony to vote explicitly for absolute

separation from the mother country.¹ The brilliant victory of the patriots at Moore's Creek, on 27th February, 1776, prevented the junction of the British troops and the Scotch Loyalists, and foiled the purposed invasion of the Province by Sir Henry Clinton.² When the Provincial Congress at Halifax, on 12th April, 1776, instructed the North Carolina Delegates to the Continental Congress to vote for the independence of all the Colonies, one-third of her adults were already in the field.

Maryland, on the other hand, was the parent of religious toleration, which is the foundation stone of Colonial liberty. She first took practical steps towards severing her connection with the crown, and her delegates were the first that were elected

¹ "The men of North Carolina were the first in America to declare their independence of Great Britain, and the most resolute in defending it."—Johnson's *Traditions of the Revolution*, 551.

"It will forever redound to the honour of North Carolina that it was among her people that the bold idea of Independence was first conceived and proclaimed to the world; and this early manifestation of patriotic enthusiasm never knew diminution."—Garden's *Anecdotes of the Revolution*, 2d Series, III, 7, 9.

² "Within a few weeks after Moore's Creek, nearly 9,000 citizens of the Colony organized in behalf of the common cause of Colonial independence. It is worthy of note that North Carolina ever after was conspicuously faithful to her obligations."—Carrington's *Battles of the Revolution*, 174.

"The patriots derived an immense advantage from the victory at Moore's Creek. The North Carolinians learned to know their own strength. They had combated with success the Regulators and the Scotch, who had appeared to them at first so formidable; and in the space of ten days they had assembled 10,000 men full of courage and resolution."—Botta's *Hist. of the War of Independence*, I, 324.

to the Continental Congress. Her troops were the first from the South to join Washington at Cambridge, and, her own borders being free from invasion, she fought for the defence of every sister Province from Massachussetts to Georgia.¹ In Baltimore were fitted out the first cruisers, which were the pioneers of the American navy.² The first suggestion of Washington as commander-in-chief came from Thomas Johnson, afterwards Governor of republican Maryland; "without whom," said John Adams, "there would have been no revolution," and whose political sagacity was such, that the Maryland Convention withdrew his appointment as General, that the country might not lose the benefit of his wisdom in the council-chamber. Limited as was her population, Maryland furnished more than 20,000 men to the revolutionary army, and her quota was generally fuller than that of the other Provinces. Probably none of them contributed so liberally both in men and in supplies.

Everywhere, throughout the war, are found the brave soldiers of these two States; there are few

¹ "From 1776, before Boston, and through the entire war, the States of Maryland and Delaware were represented on nearly every battle-field. Although their troops were few in numbers, they were distinguished for valour."—Carrington's *Battles*, 491.

² "Joshua Barney, of Maryland, was the first of the naval officers of our country who engaged in the service,—he was the last to quit it."—Garden's *Anecdotes*, 2d Series, III, 94.

battle-fields, from the Hudson river to the Savannah, which were not watered with the best blood of Maryland and North Carolina; and when the latter Province was threatened with subjugation by Lord Cornwallis, it was the Maryland Line that came to her rescue, and formed under Greene the heart of that army which was to strike a fatal blow at British supremacy in America.

But has history done full justice to these men? With few exceptions, most certainly not. They might proudly say: "we make history and others write it;" but the practical result is that many a Carolina child knows all about Bunker Hill and very little of Moore's Creek; many a Maryland boy will recount the incidents of the "Boston Tea-party," while mainly ignorant of the burning of the Peggy Stewart. When Johnson published his life of Gen. Greene seventy years ago, when therefore many of the actors in the revolutionary drama were still on the stage, he said:—"There is a clannish spirit in the States of the Union which will ever dispose the writers they produce, to blazon with peculiar zeal the virtues and talents of the eminent men of their respective States. And it will probably happen, that in future times the States that have produced the ablest writers will enjoy the reputation of having produced the ablest statesmen, generals

and orators.”¹ Words truly prophetic, and it is pre-eminently the duty of the men of our generation to right these historic wrongs.

The spirit of resistance to tyranny and to unjust legislation was early rife in the Colony of the Calverts, and in October 1774 the brig *Peggy Stewart* with her cargo of tea was burned at Annapolis, in open day, by men who boldly assumed the responsibility of their act. During the following winter active preparations were made for the inevitable conflict, and when the news of Lexington came, Smallwood was put in command of a battalion of seven companies at Baltimore, while two companies of riflemen from Western Maryland were hurried forward to take part in the siege of Boston.

The little Province was contributing prodigally to the cause, and of her best. “We are sending all that can be armed and equipped;” reported the Maryland Council of Safety on August 16th, “and the people of New York, for whom we have great affection, can have no more than our all.”² The recruits were young enthusiasts, who represented the first families of the State. “The city-bred Marylander was distinguished by the most fashionably cut coat, the most macaroni cocked hat, and hottest blood in the Union; if there was any exception, it was to be found among the children of

¹ Johnson's *Life of Gen. Greene*, II, 181.

² Force's *American Archives*, 5th Series, I, 975.

the sun of a still more Southern location.”¹ In July 1776, Smallwood’s Macaronis, in their brilliant uniform of buff and scarlet, joined Washington’s army at New York, and at the battle of Long Island, on August 27th, the men of the Maryland Line for a while held at bay the entire British left wing, covering the American retreat with a loss of nearly half their own number, and beginning thus splendidly that career, which was to close five years later, in the gallant bayonet charge at Eutaw Springs.

What a task was imposed upon these young, untried soldiers! Five times did these brave boys, but 400 in number, charge a brigade of British infantry; for hours had they to meet the “push of the bayonet,”—that dread even of the hardiest veterans,—unsustained too by the stimulus of possible victory; for all that could be hoped for was to protect the retreat and save the American army from annihilation. Our troops had been forced to yield at every point, and “none remained in the field but Stirling with the regiment of Maryland and that of Delaware. For nearly four hours they stood in their ranks with colours flying; when Stirling, perceiving the main body of the British army rapidly coming behind him, gave the word to retreat. They withdrew in perfect order. The only avenue of escape was by wading

¹ Graydon’s *Memoirs*, 180.

through Gowanus creek; and this passage was almost cut off by troops under Cornwallis. Stirling must hold Cornwallis in check, or his whole party is lost: he ordered the Delaware regiment and one-half of that of Maryland to make the best of their way across the marsh and creek, while he confronted the advancing British with only five companies of Marylanders. The young soldiers flew at the enemy with unparalleled bravery, in view of all the American generals and troops within the lines, who alternately praised and pitied them. Washington wrung his hands, as he exclaimed: 'My God! what brave men must I this day lose!' When forced to give way, they rallied and renewed the onset. In this manner ten minutes were gained, so that the Delawares with their prisoners, and half the Maryland regiment passed the creek. The devoted men who had saved them were beaten back by masses of troops, and cut to pieces or taken; only nine succeeded in escaping."¹

Throughout the campaign of '76 the Marylanders sustained the brilliant reputation won at Long Island, and Adjutant-General Reed declared that "the gallantry of the Southern men has inspired the whole army."² At Harlem Heights they carried the British intrenchments at the

¹ Bancroft's *U. S.*, V, 32.

² Reed's *Life of Reed*, I, 221.

point of the bayonet: at White Plains they resisted an overwhelming force with the loss of a hundred men: in the retreat across New Jersey they were prominent in every action: so that in the four months between the battles of Long Island and Princeton the old Maryland Line was almost annihilated.

In the summer of 1777 the soldiers of the North Carolina Line joined the army of Washington. They arrived laurel-crowned, for the defeat of Lord Dunmore at Norfolk¹ in December 1775, and for the part which they had borne in the brilliant defence of Charleston in June 1776, against the combined fleet and army of Admiral Sir Peter Parker and Sir Henry Clinton. This Southern campaign was so successful² that for nearly three years the Carolinas were free from the presence of the enemy; and had it failed, it is difficult to see how the other Colonies could have brought the Revolution to a triumphant conclusion. General Charles Lee, chief in command at Charleston, re-

¹ The Virginia Convention at Williamsburg, on Dec. 22, 1775, resolved, "That the thanks of this Convention are justly due to the brave officers, gentlemen volunteers, and soldiers of North Carolina, as well as to our brethren of that Province in general, for their prompt and generous aid in defence of our common rights against the enemies of America."—*North Carolina Colonial Records*, Vol. X, p. xi.

² The obstinate resistance of the Virginians, and the disasters of the partisans of England in North Carolina, precluded all hope of success in these two provinces."—Botta, I, 334.

ported of his troops that "their conduct is such as does them the highest honour: no man ever did, and it is impossible ever can, behave better. The South and North Carolinians that we have here are admirable soldiers. I know not which corps I have the greatest reason to be pleased with, Muhlenberg's Virginians or the North Carolina troops; they are both equally alert, zealous and spirited."¹ On their march northward through Virginia, the victors were greeted with enthusiasm; for fame had gone before them of their gallantry, which had helped to baffle an attack that was as bravely and skilfully conducted as any in the annals of naval warfare.

Arrived at Washington's entrenched camp at Middlebrook in June, the North Carolina brigade was placed under command of Stirling, and on Sept. 11th took part with his division in the battle of the Brandywine. The American forces in this campaign were but 8,000, while the enemy mustered 30,000.² On October 4th, at Germantown,—a field on which all the thirteen Colonies were represented,—the Maryland brigade, and the North Carolinians under Nash,—who fell at the head of his troops,³—fought side by side, constituting the

¹ Moultrie's *Memoirs of the Revolution*, I, 170. *The Lee Papers*, N. Y. Hist. Soc., II, 93, 102.

² Stedman's *Hist. of Amer. War*, I, 284.

³ "One of the most lamented losses at Germantown was that of General Nash, of North Carolina."—Botta, II, 47.

right wing of the army immediately under the eye of Washington, of which he reported to Congress that "both officers and men behaved with a degree of gallantry that did them the highest credit."¹ Brandywine and Germantown are the first battles in which the troops of the two States are brought into helpful contact, and here begins that honourable rivalry for distinction which was to last throughout the war. At Monmouth, Camden, King's Mountain, Cowpens, Guilford, Hobkirk's Hill, Eutaw Springs,—it is on the Marylanders, or the North Carolinians, or upon both, that falls the chief brunt of the battle; and it is upon the conduct of the men of these two Colonies, upon their steady valour or liability to panic, that turns the issue of victory or defeat.

At Germantown Maryland's favorite hero, John Eager Howard, first found an opportunity for the display of his great soldierly qualities. He had served as Captain in the regiment of Col. Carvil Hall; had joined the Continental army in time to take part in the battle of White Plains; and was promoted Major in one of the seven Continental regiments. In the absence of the Colonel and Lieut.-Colonel he was in command of his regiment at Germantown, where he displayed alike great skill and courage. Garden, one of Lee's legionaries, who served with Howard in the South,

¹ Sparks's *Washington*, V, 80.

ascribes to him "every requisite for the perfection of the military character,—patience, judgment, intrepidity, decision;" and after the campaign in the Carolinas Gen. Greene said, "He is as good an officer as the world affords, and deserves a statue of gold no less than the Roman and Grecian heroes."¹

A fortnight after Germantown, the surrender of Burgoyne brought about an exchange of prisoners, and this released for active service another great Maryland soldier, Otho Holland Williams. He had served at the siege of Boston in 1775, as Lieutenant and Captain in the first company of Marylanders that was sent to Massachusetts. When the Maryland and Virginia riflemen were formed into a regiment in 1776, he was promoted Major, modestly declining the appointment of Colonel of the Frederick County battalion, as diffident of his ability to discharge the duties of so high a rank. He was taken prisoner at the surrender of Fort Washington, where the Marylanders sustained a long and bloody conflict with a body of Hessians more than ten times their number. The harsh and unworthy treatment which Williams received at the hands of the British, during his fifteen months of captivity, permanently impaired his health, but fortunately did not deprive his country of his invaluable ser-

¹ Garden's *Anecdotes*, 60 and 61.

vices ; and with his advancement to the Colonelcy of the 6th regiment of the Maryland Line begins that brilliant career which has shed so much lustre on his native State.

In the campaign of the following year, 1778, the Maryland and North Carolina troops were conspicuous ; and at Monmouth, on June 28th, the North Carolinians stationed on the left wing saved it from being outflanked by Lord Cornwallis, while at a critical moment of the battle, the safety of the army, as at Long Island, depended upon the steadiness and courage of the Maryland Line. Gen. Charles Lee, who commanded the advance corps, failed to carry out Washington's order to attack the British on the march, and retreated ; on which account he was afterwards court-martialed for disobedience of orders and misbehaviour before the enemy. This strange misconduct endangered the whole army, and in the emergency Washington turned to Colonels Stewart and Ramsay of the Maryland Line to hold the British army in check until he could rally his own. " We will check them " was Ramsay's proud reply, and Stewart being wounded early in the action, the command of the Marylanders devolved upon him. He fought every inch of ground with desperate obstinacy, and for some minutes held back the whole British Line ; until left almost without troops, and dangerously wounded in a hand-to-

hand encounter with several dragoons, he was taken prisoner. The point was gained ; the enemy's advance was checked, and Gen. Clinton paid a fitting tribute to Ramsay's heroism by promptly releasing him on parole.

No important battle signalized the campaign of 1779; but it was marked by one very gallant enterprise, the capture of Stony Point on the Hudson,¹ in which the troops both of Maryland and North Carolina bore a most honourable part. Gen. Lee wrote to Wayne:—"Your assault on Stony Point is not only the most brilliant throughout the whole course of the war on either side, but one of the most brilliant I am acquainted with in history."² The British occupation of this post threatened West Point, and Washington formed a plan for its capture, the execution of which he intrusted to Gen. Wayne, who, on the evening of July 15th, secretly drew near the fort with a small body of the choicest troops of the army. The Marylanders under him were commanded by Major Stewart, and the battalion of North Carolinians by Major Murfree.

The position was considered impregnable, as it is a bold bluff accessible only by a narrow causeway,

¹ "It was an enterprise of difficulty and danger; and Gen. Wayne, who commanded it, deserved great praise for his gallantry and good conduct, as did the troops which he commanded for their bravery."—Stedman's *Hist. of the American War*, II, 145.

² *Lee Papers*, III, 357.

which is overflowed at high water. Strong breast-works crowned the hill, which was encircled by a double row of abatis; while the garrison consisted of six hundred veterans well supplied with artillery. At midnight Wayne moved silently upon the fort; Major Stewart leading a corps of 100 volunteers with unloaded muskets on the left, and Lieut.-Col. Fleury a similar column on the right. Murfree's men in the centre advanced by the road up the slope directly in front of the works, keeping up an incessant fire to distract the attention of the garrison from the other storming parties; or, as Wayne expressed it, "to *amuse* the enemy in front,"—an amusement, however, which would draw upon them the concentrated fire of the fort. In front of the American line were two small bodies of twenty picked men, called the forlorn hope, led by Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox. Armed with axes, their task was to remove the abatis and other obstructions for the assaulting party. The danger attending this duty is shown by the fact that seventeen of Gibbons's little company of twenty, and more than half of Knox's, were killed or wounded; yet both officers and men were so emulous of the honour of serving in the forlorn hope, that the choice of them had to be decided by lot.

The Americans were very near the works before their approach was discovered. "Come on, ye damned rebels; come on!" shouted the enemy;

to which some of our men replied, "Don't be in such a hurry, my lads; we will be with you presently." They were met by a terrific fire of grape and musketry, but they dashed on without hesitation, and in a few minutes the right and left columns entered the fort almost at the same time, and met in the centre. Major Murfree conducted admirably his part of the attack, and his two companies were the only troops that fired a gun. Lieut. Col. Fleury was the first to spring upon the ramparts, and seizing the colours of the post he shouted the watchword "The fort's our own." At the same moment, Stewart with the left column entered from the opposite side, and Murfree's detachment as bravely seized other portions of the works.¹

The garrison surrendered at once, begging for quarter, which was magnanimously granted; not a blow was struck after resistance ceased.² "The fort and garrison are ours." was Wayne's laconic despatch to Washington, dated July 16th, 2 A. M. "Our officers and men behaved like men determined to be free;" and in his later reports and

¹ Washington said, "The assault of Stony Point does much honour to the troops employed in it, as no men could behave better. Every officer and man of the corps deserves great credit."—Ford's *Writings of Washington*, VII, 499, and VIII, 1.

² "The conduct of the Americans was highly meritorious, for they would have been fully justified in putting the garrison to the sword."—Stedman, II, 145.

letters he pays a fitting tribute to the heroism and good conduct of Murfree, Stewart, and the other leaders of his various detachments. Among the younger officers too were many conspicuous examples of personal gallantry. Lieutenant Knox was the first to follow Fleury into the enemy's works; Lieutenant Gibbons was breveted Captain for his heroism; and Lieutenant Daves of the 2nd North Carolina, who had won promotion by his conduct at Germantown, was desperately wounded while bravely leading one of the storming parties of volunteers.

The news of the capture of the fort was received with the greatest enthusiasm throughout the country. Stony Point was the first strongly entrenched post which our troops ventured to attack; and the brilliant success came to inspire hope at a moment when disaster was threatening the cause of independence.

II.

In the early years of the Revolution the struggle was chiefly confined to the Northern Provinces; but Monmouth is the last battle of note fought on Northern soil. The tide of war then turned southward; the Southern Colonies became the scene of decisive contest, and within their borders was definitely settled the question of British supremacy or American independence. The plan

of the enemy was to subdue Georgia, and then, extending their conquest northward, to form a junction in Virginia or Maryland with Sir Henry Clinton's forces from New York, and thus bring the whole Atlantic seaboard under the dominion of the King. Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to Lord Cornwallis:—"It is the King's firm purpose to recover the Southern Provinces in preference to all others, and to push the war from South to North, securing what is conquered as we go on."¹

On December 29th, 1778, Savannah was captured, and in the course of the following year the British completed the subjugation of Georgia, and entered upon the conquest of South Carolina. To Gen. Lincoln was assigned the defence of Charleston, the most important city in the South, and in November 1779, the North Carolina Continentals under Gen. Hogun were ordered to reinforce him. This gallant brigade, reduced by the arduous campaigns under Washington from 5000 to 700 men, set out for the long march from their cantonments on the Hudson. It was a terrible winter journey in the then condition of things;² the troops suf-

¹ Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, II, 11.

² Washington wrote Lafayette:—"The extreme cold, the deep snows, and other impediments, retarded the march of the North Carolina Brigade. The oldest people now living do not remember so hard a winter. The severity of the frost exceeded anything of the kind that had ever been experienced in this climate before."—Ford's *Writings of Washington*, VIII, 220.

ferred greatly, and did not reach their destination till March 13th, 1780.

After the failure of "The Grand Model," Locke and Shaftesbury's philosophic Constitution for Carolina, the Province was divided; and two generations of independent existence had already stamped upon the old North State the permanent characteristics, which distinguish her from her Virginia neighbours on the North and the Huguenot settlers on the South. On previous occasions in the war she had come to the rescue of her sister Province, and on February 24th, 1779, Charles Pinckney wrote: "We have upwards of 3000 North Carolina troops with us, and I esteem this as the most convincing proof of their zeal for the glorious cause. They have been so willing and ready on all occasions to afford us all the assistance in their power, that I shall ever love a North Carolinian, and join with Gen. Moultrie in confessing that they have been the salvation of this country."¹

To save Charleston was of supreme importance,² and in the Spring of 1780 Washington determined

¹*N. C. Univ. Magazine*, April, 1878. Schenck's *North Carolina in 1780-1781*, p. 35.

See also Johnson's *Traditions of the Revolution*, 308:—"North Carolina generously sent her troops whenever called for, to join in our battles, and aid in our defence."

² Washington wrote Lincoln:—"If the British succeed against Charleston, there is much reason to believe that the Southern States will become the principal theatre of the war."—Ford's *Washington*, VIII, 248.

to send to Lincoln his favorite troops, the soldiers of the Maryland Line, then about 2000 in number, or nearly one-fifth of his little army. Baron de Kalb was placed in command, and on April 16th they set out from the camp at Morristown; but before they crossed the Virginia line Charleston had fallen. Lincoln made the fatal mistake of allowing himself to be shut up in the city; so that when he was forced to surrender, on May 12th, the loss to the American cause was not merely the Southern Capital, but many of the best soldiers of the Continental army. North Carolina lost 59 Line officers, nearly all of her regulars, and a thousand of her disciplined militia. At a moment when the country could ill spare one of her defenders, the veteran soldiers of the Carolinas, penned in British prison ships, were perishing miserably of disease and despair.

With the fall of Charleston all organized resistance ceased in South Carolina; the strongholds of Camden, Beaufort and Ninety-Six surrendered, and some men of mark counselled submission. Sir Henry Clinton considered the Province as so completely subdued, that he issued a proclamation requiring all men within his lines to take up arms for the king; an unwise act which drove all would-be neutrals into the rebel ranks. "If we must fight," said they, "let it be on the side of America,

our friends and countrymen.”¹ Before setting out for New York, he wrote, on June 4th, to Lord Germain, “There are few men in South Carolina who are not either our prisoners or in the army with us; and I dare entertain hopes that Earl Cornwallis’s presence on the frontier of North Carolina, will call back the inhabitants of that Province from their state of error and disobedience.”²

He left Cornwallis in command, and at the end of June the latter reported that all resistance was at an end in Georgia and South Carolina, and that he would proceed to subdue North Carolina as soon as the harvest was gathered.

The disaster seemed indeed a fatal one. “We look on America as at our feet,” was the exultant exclamation of Horace Walpole, when the news of Lincoln’s surrender reached London. But the veterans of the Maryland Line were already on the march to replace those that had been lost at Charleston, and to rescue the Southern Provinces from the enemy. They reached Hillsborough on June 22nd, to find North Carolina not only stripped of her veteran troops, but without the means to fitly arm the men that she was able to bring into the field. “The North Carolinians were always active and ready to defend their country, but they were badly provided with arms:

¹ Moultrie’s *Memoirs*, II, 210.

² Tarleton’s *Campaigns of 1780 and 1781*, pp. 82, 83.

they were obliged to form their scythes and sickles into swords and spears. Yet the North Carolina militia were a very great check to the British, and stopped their rapid progress over North and South Carolina.”¹ More volunteers offered their services than could be equipped. The Tories too were organizing, and measures had to be taken to meet an enemy within as well as without the borders of the State.

The name Tory still lingers as a term of opprobrium; but has not the time come to do justice to the Loyalists of our Revolution? Our enthusiastic admiration for the patriots, whose courage and endurance achieved our independence, has hitherto blinded us to the virtues of their opponents. But more than a century has passed since those days of bitter strife, and we of this generation should be able to judge impartially the men who believed it their duty to uphold the royal authority. Generous loyalty to a sovereign is as lofty a sentiment as love of liberty, and prompts to as noble deeds of devotion and self-sacrifice.

In the forum of public opinion nothing justifies a man in taking service under a foreign enemy against his own country, and even so illustrious an example as that of Moreau forms no exception; his memory is not held in honour, and an atmosphere

¹ Moultrie's *Memoirs*, II, 213.

of pathetic sadness hovers over his lonely grave among the Saxon hills. But in a civil war the question is very different, as was well illustrated in our recent struggle. There are probably men within the sound of my voice who fought on different sides in that contest, and whose conscientiousness and patriotism no one can impugn. They are praiseworthy or blameworthy, not for the choice of the flag under which they marched, but for the motives which prompted that choice, and the deeds that justified it. Many a Tory in our Revolution lived a life of heroic sacrifice, and died a martyr to the cause which claimed his loyal devotion.

The men of Maryland entered upon their great task in the South with resolution, though it must have appeared almost impossible of accomplishment. Col. Howard afterwards said of the campaign: "our march to the southward seemed to be a forlorn hope." Another happy illustration of the truth uttered by our great poet that

"Things out of hope are compassed oft with venturing."¹

De Kalb's first impressions of the old North State are ludicrously unpleasant. In a letter to his wife of June 21st, just after he had crossed the frontier, he says: "I am suffering from intolerable heat, and the most voracious of insects of every hue

¹ *Venus and Adonis*, 567.

and form. Of the violence of thunder storms in this part of the world Europeans cannot form any idea."¹

Though without proper food, clothing, or arms for her troops, North Carolina was making strenuous efforts to repel the British invasion, and just at the time when the Marylanders entered her borders, the victory of June 20th over the Tories at Ramsour's Mill, the successes of Major Davie near Hanging Rock, and the exploits of the mountaineers under Shelby and McDowell, had inspired the patriots with fresh hope and courage.

With a leader like De Kalb, the Maryland veterans and North Carolina recruits might have marched to assured victory; but he was unfortunately superseded by Gen. Gates, to whom the surrender of Burgoyne had given a factitious reputation. Gates took command at Buffalo Ford on Deep River, July 25th, and at once showed his lack of wise judgment by declining to provide a sufficient force of cavalry, and resolving to march by the direct route to Camden; though this led through a district where the Tories were active, and which was too barren and uncultivated to furnish food for the army; while the more circuitous road lay through the fertile counties of Rowan and Mecklenburg, whose people were zealous in the cause.

The sufferings of the troops on this march were great, and Col. Otho Williams said of his stout-

¹ Kapp's *Life of De Kalb*, 200.

hearted Marylanders that "they gave early proofs of that patient submission, inflexible fortitude, and undeviating integrity, which they afterwards more eminently displayed."¹ In the scarcity of food the men lived chiefly on unripe fruit, which produced much sickness, and the officers resorted to the expedient of using their hair-powder to thicken the meagre soup.

Gates approached Camden without obtaining any definite information about the enemy, who however were well apprized of all his movements. Cornwallis had arrived with reinforcements from Charleston without Gates's knowledge, and while the Americans were on a night march with the purpose of surprising and overwhelming Lord Rawdon's command, they unexpectedly met the united forces of the enemy advancing to attack them. After a brief skirmish the two armies drew apart to await the dawn.

It was August 16th, the day of Camden, the most disastrous in the annals of the Revolution: a day of undying glory for Maryland, on account of the admirable conduct of her troops, but one that then seemed fatal to the independence of the Southern Provinces. Cornwallis believed that this brilliant success removed the last obstacle from his path of victory across North Carolina.

¹ Johnson's *Greene*, I, 488.

The disposition of his troops on the field was admirable: the left wing was commanded by Lord Rawdon; the right by Col. Webster, with Tarleton's cavalry in the rear; while both flanks were protected by swamps. De Kalb's division, consisting of the second Maryland brigade under Gen. Gist, and the Delaware regiment, faced Rawdon; the North Carolinians under Caswell formed the centre of the line, and the left wing was composed of the newly enrolled Virginia militia under Stevens; the Americans thus having "their best troops on the side strongest by nature, the worst on the weakest."¹ Two hundred yards in the rear was stationed the first Maryland brigade under Smallwood as a reserve corps.

At the opening of the engagement Col. Otho Williams, with a small body of volunteers, advanced in front of the American line, to draw the enemy's fire and to encourage the militia; but before Webster's impetuous charge, supported by cavalry, the raw recruits broke and fled in hopeless confusion. Dixon's regiment of North Carolinians alone held its ground, and upon them and Gist's Marylanders fell the weight of the whole British line. Never did men behave more gallantly; nowhere can be found more brilliant instances of personal courage, or examples of more perfect discipline; but the British fought with equal

¹ Bancroft, V, 387.

bravery, and the odds were overwhelmingly in their favour.

De Kalb, who exposed himself recklessly, and led a successful charge upon Rawdon's division, fell into the enemy's hands mortally wounded. His dying words were a tribute to the exemplary conduct of his soldiers, which "gave him an endearing sense of the merits of the troops which he had the honour to command."¹ Nearly half of his men were killed or captured, the remainder escaping to the friendly shelter of the swamps. Major Anderson kept together a small body of the Second Maryland regiment, and Col. Howard gathered some stragglers in the woods.² In three days they, together with Smallwood, Gist, Hall and Gunby, succeeded in reaching Charlotte, 60 miles distant, and when Howard was asked what subsistence they had found, he replied simply "some peaches." Gen. Gates had arrived at Charlotte on the night after the battle, and passing on to Hillsborough he gave orders for the scattered remnant of the troops to rendezvous there.

From the camp in New Jersey, on October 13th, Gen. Knox wrote to Gen. Smallwood to inquire how he sustained the "fatigues and hardships of

¹ Kapp's *Life of De Kalb*, 237.

² "Complete as was the dispersion of our army at Camden, the Maryland and Delaware troops gained imperishable laurels for their conduct. Nor is it possible to withhold from Col. Dixon, of North Carolina, the most unqualified applause."—Paul Allen's *Amer. Rev.*, II, 323.

war in a Southern climate. I suppose you must find it agreeable in some degree, as it has produced you such a harvest of glory. The affair at Camden will not be more remarkable for its adverse circumstances than for the firm gallantry of the Maryland troops. The veterans of the army here admire their conduct, and ardently wish to have been in such numbers, side by side with their old companions, as to have enabled them to gain a victory which their bravery so richly merited.”¹

Lee pays a flattering tribute to the valour and steadiness of the troops :—

“The Marylanders, with Dixon’s North Carolina regiment, although greatly outnumbered, firmly maintained the desperate conflict. The brigade, borne down by superior numbers, rallied again and again; but finally the intrepid Marylanders were compelled to give up the unequal contest. More than a third of the Continental troops were killed or wounded. The North Carolina militia also suffered greatly; more than 300 of them were taken and 100 were killed and wounded. None can withhold applause from Col. Dixon and his North Carolina regiment of militia. Having their flank exposed by the flight of the other militia, they turned with disdain from the ignoble example; and fixing their eyes on the Marylanders, whose left flank they became, determined to vie in

¹ Balch’s *Maryland Papers*, 116.

deeds of courage with their veteran comrades. In every vicissitude of the battle this regiment maintained its ground, and when the reserve under Smallwood relieved its naked flank, forced the enemy to fall back.”¹

No battle of the war put to a severer test the mettle of our men, and the disorderly retreat was marked by every incident of picturesque and pathetic distress. Col. Otho Williams said that “a just representation of it would exhibit an image of compound wretchedness; care, anxiety, pain, poverty, hurry, confusion, humiliation and dejection would be characteristic traits in the mortifying picture.”²

The defeat at Camden indeed marks the darkest hour of the Revolution; but it proved to be that darkness which heralds the coming dawn, and for the happy change in our country's fortune we owe much to the soldiers of Maryland. For many months disaster had followed disaster in the South, and in the North there had been no compensating victory. The hearts of the patriots were heavy with anxiety, and the enemy was exultant in the confidence of success. Lord Germain wrote to Sir Henry Clinton:—“So very contemptible is the rebel force in all its parts, and so vast is our superiority everywhere, that no resistance on their part

¹ Lee's *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department*, 184-187.

² Johnson's *Greene*, I, 501.

is to be apprehended that can materially obstruct the progress of the King's army in the speedy suppression of the rebellion." ¹

Throughout the Colonies there was every reason for great discouragement. The government paper money had so depreciated in value that the people were almost without a circulating medium. As the area of the conflict extended more and more widely, the difficulty of communication became embarrassing in the extreme. The supply, not only of arms, but of food and clothing for the troops, had become in some cases a problem impossible of solution. North Carolina, to whose territory the struggle was about to be transferred, besides the loss at Charleston of her regulars and many of her militia, was bereft at Camden of some of her most valuable officers.

In this disheartening condition of public affairs came the startling tidings of Arnold's treason, which seemed to fill to the brim the cup of national calamity. No wonder that Otho Williams should write to Col. Morgan in vigorous alliterative phrase: "What do you think of the damnable doings of that diabolical dog Arnold?" ²

It was plain that some prompt and decisive step must be taken, or the cause was lost. The emergency demanded a leader of different calibre from

¹ Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, I, 335.

² Graham's *Life of Morgan*, 244.

that of Gates or Lincoln, and Washington found him in his trusty Lieutenant, Nathanael Greene. Second in military capacity only to his great chieftain, Greene is alike conspicuous for his merit and his modesty. When informed of his appointment to the supreme command in the South, he wrote to Washington: "I lament that my abilities are not more competent to the duties that will be required of me. But as far as zeal and attention can supply the defect, I flatter myself my country will have little cause to complain."¹ His grateful country has ever acknowledged that, so far from giving cause for complaint, his masterly conduct of the brilliant campaign in the Carolinas has filled her heart with pride and thankfulness.

What was thought of him by his contemporaries is seen in the encomium of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, French ambassador at that time to the United Colonies: "Other Generals subdue their enemy by the means with which their country or sovereign furnishes them; but Greene appears to subdue his enemy by his own means. He conquers by magic. History furnishes no parallel to this."² He was in the prime of his powers when he assumed command at Charlotte, on December 4th, 1780; thirty-eight years of age, and in the full vigour of ripe manhood. All his faculties had been trained by four years of arduous experience,

¹ Greene's *Life of Gen. Greene*, II, 374.

² Garden's *Anecdotes*, 77.

and his temper admirably combined the prudence of age with the hopeful enthusiasm of youth.

III.

After the rout at Camden the scattered troops were gathered at Salisbury, and then marched to Hillsborough, where the army was reorganized. Here Gates received reinforcements of the Virginia Line, and with them came Col. Daniel Morgan, "who never gave other than the wisest counsels, and stood first for conduct, effective leadership, and unsurpassable courage on the field of battle. He was at that time the ablest commander of light troops in the world, for in no European army of that day were there troops like those which he trained."¹ Gates assigned to him a special light corps of infantry, and the cavalry troop of Col. Wm. Washington; North Carolina furnishing the command with clothing. The Marylanders being now reduced in numbers to less than 800, the several regiments of the old Line were amalgamated into one, under Williams and Howard as Colonel and Lieut.-Colonel, and called the First Maryland. Col. Williams pays a high tribute to the fidelity and discipline of these troops in the camp at Hillsborough. All despondency disappeared, and the men grew eager again to face the

¹ Bancroft, V, 191, 480.

enemy; even the invalids refusing to be left behind, when, after two months of recuperation, the army set out on November 2nd for Charlotte.

North Carolina was meanwhile labouring earnestly to repair her great losses, responding nobly to every demand on her for men and supplies. Her gratitude for help given by Maryland was shown by creating Smallwood Major-General, and placing him in supreme command of her militia. The latter were already assembling under Generals Sumner and Davidson, full of hope and spirit. Within a fortnight after Camden, Major Davie declared that the militia, if aided by "a small body of regulars, would still keep the enemy at bay;"¹ and Otho Williams said that the conduct at this crisis of "the patriots of Mecklenburg and Waxhaws entitles them to a whole page of eulogium in the best history that shall record the circumstances of the Revolution."²

In September Lord Cornwallis entered North Carolina, expecting a welcome from numerous Loyalists, who would strew with flowers his path of conquest. But the defence of Charlotte by the young heroes, Davie and Graham, who with a mere handful of men checked for a while the advance of the whole British army, showed him, to use his own expressive phrase, that he had run into "a Hornet's nest;" and his foraging officers reported

¹ *N. C. Univ. Mag.*, V, 184.

² Johnson's *Greene*, I, 502.

that they found "a rebel in every bush outside of the lines of the encampment."¹

Keen must have been his disappointment in finding this temper of the people, for he afterwards wrote to Lord Germain: "The great object of our arduous campaign is the calling forth the numerous Loyalists of North Carolina; but the numbers of our friends in the Province are not so great as had been represented, and their friendship is only passive; not over two hundred have been prevailed upon to follow us," and the march to the Yadkin was through "one of the most rebellious tracts in America."²

Tarleton's words are an equally emphatic tribute to the persistent patriotism of the North Carolinians:—"The counties of Mecklenburg and Rowan were more hostile to England than any others in America. No British commander could obtain any information which would facilitate his designs or guide his future conduct. Notwithstanding the different checks and losses sustained by the militia of the district, they continued their hostilities with unwearied perseverance."³ All classes shared the patriotic enthusiasm, and the

¹ Cooke's *Rev. Hist. of N. C.*, 168.

An intercepted letter of Cornwallis's aid-de-camp describes Charlotte at this time as "an agreeable village, but in a damned rebellious country."—Moore's *Diary of the Rev.*, II, 352.

² Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, I, 358, 362, 417.

³ Tarleton's *Campaigns*, 163, 164.

young ladies of Mecklenburg and Rowan entered into a pledge not to receive the attentions of young men who would not volunteer in defence of their country.¹

But it was not merely a hostile spirit that the people showed; a decisive battle was to mark the turn in the tide of misfortune, and be the har-binger of future victories. When Cornwallis entered North Carolina, he detached on special service his brilliant partisan leader, Col. Ferguson. He was to bring into subjection to British rule the bold pioneers beyond the Alleghanies, the "over-mountain men," as they were called. A messenger was despatched to them demanding submission, and threatening them and their homes with fire and sword. The sturdy frontiers-men promptly accepted the challenge, and under the leadership of Shelby, Sevier, McDowell and others, determined to cross the mountains and meet Ferguson on his own ground. To the 700 North Carolinians were added 400 South Carolinians and Virginians; Col. Campbell was put in command by vote of his fellow officers, and they came up with the enemy on October 7th. Ferguson had pitched his camp on King's Mountain, whence he said "all the rebels out of hell could not drive him." The opposing forces were about equal in number, and both were without cavalry or artillery. The enemy had the

¹ Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*, II, 420.

advantage of the bayonet; the mountain-men had their trusty rifles, a more dangerous weapon from the nature of the ground. It was a contest of Whig and Tory, not of American and British. The Whigs surrounded the mountain, and drew gradually near their prey from all quarters. The enemy fought with desperate courage; but they fell by scores before the deadly rifle of the mountaineers,¹ and when Ferguson was struck down, the little remnant of his men, surrounded and overwhelmed, surrendered. None escaped: the battle had lasted only an hour, but the fight was fierce from the outset, and little quarter was given. The king's army of a thousand men was annihilated, with a loss to the Whigs of less than one hundred.

The effect of this brilliant success was far-reaching; victory had again perched upon the banners of the patriots, and hope and confidence cheered their hearts.² Again had the valour of the sons of North Carolina turned the tide of invasion from her border; they had checked the advance of Cornwallis, just as in '76, at Moore's Creek, they had

¹ "King's Mountain, as well as many other battles, proves that the militia are brave men, and will fight if you let them come to action in their own way. The charge of the bayonet it can never be expected that undisciplined troops could stand."—Moultrie's *Memoirs*, II, 245.

² Washington wrote to Gov. Nash:—"The success of the militia against Col. Ferguson will awaken more extensively that spirit of bravery and enterprise, which displayed itself so conspicuously on the occasion."—Ford's *Writings of Washington*, IX, 18.

baffled Sir Henry Clinton's plans of invasion, Congress expressed a high appreciation of the good conduct of the troops, and Gen. Gates declared that their "glorious behaviour in the action will transmit their names to posterity with the highest honours and applause."¹ The victory at King's Mountain, which, "in the spirit of the American soldiers, was like the rising at Concord, in its effect like the success at Bennington, changed the aspects of the war. It quickened the Legislature of North Carolina to earnest efforts. It encouraged Virginia to devote her resources to the country south of her border. Cornwallis had hoped to step with ease from one Carolina to the other, and from those to the conquest of Virginia, and he had now no other choice but to retreat."²

He immediately broke up camp at Charlotte, and retired to Winnsboro, seventy miles southward, to await reinforcements; abandoning his plan of a winter campaign in North Carolina. Morgan's corps appeared soon after in the neighbourhood of Camden; but Gates recalled him to Charlotte, where he had established his headquarters.

It was at this juncture that Gen. Greene arrived on December 2d, and took command of the army, consisting then of about a thousand Continentals and as many militia. Most of the regulars were

¹ Draper's *King's Mountain*, 374.

² Bancroft, V, 400.

the Marylanders, who, though unpaid, ill-clad and half-starved, performed their duties without a murmur, and from their ranks was no desertion. The militia were poorly armed, and dispirited by suffering from cold and hunger; while the enemy consisted of tried veterans, well-equipped, aggressive and enterprising, flushed with their success in Georgia and South Carolina, and led by one of the most skilful of the British captains.

These were the conditions under which Greene was to accomplish his arduous task; but he had a genius for the selection of his subordinates, and no General in the war was surrounded by a more brilliant group of officers. Smallwood, Williams and Howard, of Maryland; Sumner, Eaton and Davie, of North Carolina; Morgan, Lee, Washington, Pickens, Sumpter, Huger, Marion, Kirkwood, Carrington—what a list on the rolls of honour! And many a simple Lieutenant or Captain, as Duval of Maryland, and Forbis of North Carolina, is well worthy to be ranked with these illustrious leaders. Moreover, in this remarkable group of men—"all young, gallant, intelligent, and devoted to the cause"—there reigned great harmony, and we hear little of any jealousies or petty rivalries; so that of many of them might be said what Washington said of Greene himself: "Could he but promote the interests of his country in the

character of a corporal, he would exchange without a murmur his epaulette for the knob."¹

From Greene's letters we get a vivid picture of the situation and of his impressions. To Lafayette he wrote: "Were you to arrive, you would find a few ragged, half-starved troops in the wilderness, destitute of everything necessary for either the comfort or the convenience of soldiers." To Col. Coxe, on January 9th: "With an army without clothing or provisions, in a country exhausted, its currency ruined, the inhabitants divided, and our force less than a third of the enemy's, the prospect is dismal." And later to Sumpter, January 18th: "A number of my men have not a rag of clothes on them except a piece of blanket around their waists."² Moultrie's statement on this point is even stronger than Greene's; it is that the men "could scarcely cover their nakedness, and every little piece of cloth was taken up to tie about their waists."

On assuming command, Greene's first act was to appoint competent engineers to examine the fords and ferries of the great rivers, and he thus obtained information so accurate that Gen. Davidson said: "Greene had never seen the Catawba, yet he knew more about it than those who were raised on it." Cornwallis described North Carolina as "of all the Provinces in America the most difficult to attack,

¹ Garden's *Anecdotes*, 76.

² Johnson's *Greene*, I, 340, 341, 393.

on account of the numberless creeks and rivers, and the total want of internal navigation.”¹ To be familiar with all the roads leading to the rivers, and with the means of crossing them, was absolutely indispensable, and the exact knowledge thus gained was the salvation of the army on its retreat.

Carrington was made Quartermaster-General, and Davie Commissary-General, two admirable appointments. Greene established the main army in a camp of repose and instruction at the falls of the Pee Dee river, 70 miles northeast of Cornwallis's camp at Winnsboro; and here he was joined, on January 12th, by “Light-Horse Harry Lee, the Eye of the Southern army,” with his legion of picked men, 150 infantry and as many cavalry, for which Maryland furnished the horses.

To Morgan, who had been promoted General, a separate command was assigned, with orders to advance into South Carolina, to cross the Catawba, and operate on Cornwallis's left flank. His detachment consisted of about 1000 men, one-third of them North Carolinians and another third the veterans of the Maryland Line. Greene's instructions to Morgan were to employ this force against the enemy, either offensively or defensively, as his own prudence and discretion might direct. “The object of this detachment is to give protection to that part of the country and spirit up the people;

¹ Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, I, 417.

to annoy the enemy in that quarter; to collect the provisions and forage out of their way. You will spare no pains to get good intelligence of the enemy's situation, and keep me constantly advised of both your and their movements."¹ On Christmas day Morgan took his post of observation on the Pacolet, one of the southern forks of Broad river, 50 miles northwest of Winnsboro, where he was joined by two hundred mounted militia of North and South Carolina.

IV.

1781. This was the situation of affairs at the close of the fateful year of 1780. Cornwallis was forced from his inactivity; for Greene on the Pee Dee and Morgan on the Pacolet threatened both his flanks. He resolved to attack them separately, and to renew the invasion of North Carolina, which he had abandoned after the defeat at King's Mountain. Supposing that Morgan was aiming at his stronghold of Ninety-Six, the British commander detached Tarleton with 1000 men to cover that post. To the order to "push Morgan to the utmost," Tarleton replied: "When I advance, I must either destroy Morgan's corps, or push it before me towards King's Mountain. I feel bold in offering my opinion, as it flows from well-

¹ Graham's *Morgan*, 260.

grounded inquiry concerning the enemy's designs and operations."¹

As his main army lay between Greene and Morgan, Cornwallis, to make it uncertain which he would first strike, moved forty miles northwest from Winnsboro, between the Broad and Catawba rivers. Morgan retired to Hannah's Cowpens, four miles from the North Carolina line. This is in view of King's Mountain, and the sight of that hill of fame, still wet with patriots' blood, may have kindled in the breasts of Morgan's men a burning desire to meet with the edge of the sword an enemy as dangerous and as vindictive as Ferguson, for Tarleton's name had become a synonym for merciless cruelty.

On January 17th, Tarleton, after a fatiguing march of several hours, advanced to the attack, which Morgan awaited with his men rested, fresh, and eager for the fray. The American order of battle was the same as that adopted by Greene at Guilford, two lines of militia in front of the regulars. Both Generals have been criticised for this disposition of their troops, meeting with the weakest arm the first onrush of the enemy. But Morgan's purpose was to place his untried troops in a position which almost forced them to sell their lives dearly;² while Greene at Guilford felt con-

¹ Tarleton's *Campaigns*, 250, 252.

² Graham's *Morgan*, 316.

strained to hold his regulars in reserve; as he could in no wise risk the loss of the handful of veterans who formed the nucleus of the only army that could offer any resistance to the invasion.

The first line at Cowpens was composed of 150 North Carolina and Georgia riflemen, whose orders were to "mark the epaulette men," and to embarrass the enemy's advance by killing the officers; and then to retire behind the second line, which consisted of 300 militia of North and South Carolina under Gen. Pickens. The Spartan band of Marylanders, together with a small body of militia, formed the third line, stationed on a wooded hill; and behind them was Washington's cavalry in reserve.

Morgan was full of confidence, and in making his final rounds assured his men of coming triumph. "Give me two fires at killing distance," said he to the militia, "and I will make the victory sure."¹ His orders were strictly obeyed: as Tarleton advanced upon the riflemen, they retired behind the second line, firing, as they retreated, at "the epaulette men," with aim so deadly that the British line was thrown into confusion from loss of officers. Their brave and disciplined followers, however, continued to advance, and forced the militia of the second line to give way and reform in the rear of

¹ Greene's *Greene*, III, 144.

the Continentals.¹ Washington, meantime, had met and driven back the dragoons; but Tarleton, bringing up his reserves, hurled the full force of all his infantry upon the Marylanders. Firm as a rock they stood to receive the charge, until the movement of the militia on their right being misunderstood as a signal for retreat, they began slowly retiring. Alarmed by this, Morgan hurried up to Howard, who, pointing proudly to the firm ranks of his troops, that were marching as steadily as if on parade, asked: "Are men beaten who retreat in that order?"²

Lee's account of this turning point of the battle is that "the British line, considering the retrograde movement of the Marylanders the precursor of flight, rushed on with impetuosity; but, as it drew near, Howard faced about and gave it a close and murderous fire. Stunned by this unexpected shock, the enemy recoiled in confusion. Howard seized the happy moment, and followed up his advantage with the bayonet. This decisive step gave us the day. The weight of the battle fell upon Howard, who sustained himself admirably under trying circumstances, and seized with decision the

¹ Pickens ordered his militia to withhold their fire till it could be deadly; and when they were broken and retreating, rallied them, brought them again into action, and forced the enemy to surrender, which was never before effected with militia.—Garden's *Anecdotes*, 36.

² Graham's *Morgan*, 303.

critical moment to complete with the bayonet the advantage gained by his fire.”¹

The enemy, overwhelmed and helpless, threw down their arms, and fell upon their faces, begging for quarter: at one time it is said that Howard held in his hands the swords of seven British officers. “Give them Tarleton’s quarters,” was shouted along the American line by men eager to take vengeance for that leader’s cruelties; but Howard’s voice was as potent to restrain them from sullyng their victory, as it had been to rouse them to deeds of daring. This is the supreme moment in that great soldier’s brilliant career: the critical manœuvre of changing front in the height of the action was carried out with masterly skill and coolness, and he snatched victory from Tarleton’s very grasp. Congress voted him a silver medal; and the title of “The hero of Cowpens” is the proudest that he bore. There is a tradition that his brilliant decisive movement was in disobedience of orders, and that Morgan’s comment on it was: “You have done well, Col. Howard, for you have succeeded; had you failed, I should have had you shot.”

Tarleton escaped with but a squadron of his dragoons, closely pursued by Col. Washington, and it is with this incident of the battle that is connected the well-known story of Tarleton saying

¹ Lee’s *Memoirs*, 228, 230.

sneeringly to a North Carolina girl that he would like to see the famous American trooper, and receiving the withering reply:—"You could easily have seen him by looking back at Cowpens."

The much-needed war material which fell into the victor's hand comprised two cannon, 800 muskets, 100 horses and 35 waggons. The victory was as complete as that of King's Mountain: as there, the battle lasted but an hour, and it ended with the destruction of Cornwallis's best corps of light troops. The American loss was less than 80 killed and wounded; that of the British over 800, including prisoners, and very many officers. The riflemen had done their duty well: where they delivered their "two fires" the proportion of officers killed was very great, and "it was the unanimous confession of a gallant officer of the Maryland Line, who fought on that day, that here the battle was gained."¹

Morgan's masterly tactics at Cowpens make it the most brilliant battle of the war, and the chief factors in his success are the skill and coolness of the North Carolina riflemen,² and the courage and discipline of the Maryland Line. The losses here and at King's Mountain were a permanent and fatal weakening of Cornwallis's forces. He wrote

¹ Johnson's *Greene*, I, 380.

² "The militia behaved nobly; they did more than was required of them." Graham's *Morgan*, 300.

to Germain and Clinton :—" The unfortunate affair of January 17th was a very severe and unexpected blow ; for besides reputation, our loss did not fall short of 600 men. It is impossible to foresee all the consequences that this extraordinary event may produce." ¹

Tarleton's account of his defeat, and his estimate of the importance of it, are of special interest. " When the Continentals gave ground, the British rushed forward. An order was despatched to the cavalry to charge ; an unexpected fire from the Americans at this instant " (that was Howard's) " stopped the British, and threw them into confusion. Exertions to make them advance were useless, and an unaccountable panic extended itself along the whole line. All attempts to restore order or courage proved fruitless. . . . The fall of Ferguson at King's Mountain put a period to the first expedition into North Carolina ; and the affair of the Cowpens overshadowed the commencement of the second." ¹

Sir Henry Clinton acknowledged that " the unfortunate day of Cowpens diminished Cornwallis's acting army nearly one-fourth ; and those of his light troops which could least be spared in the move he was about to make." ² And the British historian Stedman, the Commissary-General of

¹ Tarleton's *Campaigns*, 258, 267, 223, 227.

² Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, I, 102.

Cornwallis in this campaign, admits the supreme importance of Morgan's victory, by declaring that "the defeat of his majesty's troops at the Cowpens formed a very principal link in the chain of circumstances which led to the independence of America. Had Lord Cornwallis had with him at Guilford the troops lost by Col. Tarleton at the Cowpens, it is not extravagant to suppose that the American colonies might have been reunited to the empire of Great Britain."¹

Seldom has a battle so momentous been fought with so small numbers; rarely has a victory so decisive been won at so slight a cost. Morgan's defeat would have meant the ruin of Greene's army, and the subjugation of North Carolina; his triumph was to lead to Guilford, Eutaw Springs and Yorktown. It is interesting now to note the truth of these prophetic words in the *New Jersey Gazette* of February 21st, when the news of Cowpens had just been received:—"This battle is but the prelude to the era of 1781, the close of which we hope will prove memorable in the annals of history, as the happy period of peace, liberty and independence to America."²

Ramsay tells us that "the glory and importance of the action at Cowpens resounded from one end of the Continent to the other. It re-animated the desponding friends of America, and seemed to be

¹ Stedman's *Hist.*, II, 325, 346.

² Moore's *Diary*, II, 375.

like a resurrection from the dead to the Southern States. Tarleton's repulse did more essential injury to the British interest than was compensated by all his victories."¹

How natural that the patriots should hail this propitious opening of the campaign with joyful anticipations! The year 1780, with the surrender of Charleston, the disgrace of Camden, the treason of Arnold, had been a period of dire disaster; but King's Mountain had spanned its dying days with the bow of hope, and Cowpens gloriously ushered in the new year.

V.

As Cornwallis with the main army was but twenty-five miles from Cowpens, Morgan retreated northward immediately after the battle. The action was over at ten o'clock, and the march began by noon. His prisoners, guarded by a detachment of militia, were hurried forward into Virginia. Cornwallis followed, and on January 21st crossed the North Carolina line for the second invasion of the State. By forced marches, on January 23rd Morgan reached Sherrill's Ford of the Catawba, twenty-five miles from Ramsour's Mill, where Cornwallis arrived two days later.

Greene ordered his army to retire from the camp on the Pee Dee to Salisbury, and set out on Janu-

¹ Ramsay's *Hist. of S. C.*, I, 395, 396.

ary 28th, accompanied by only a sergeant's guard of cavalry, on a perilous march of 100 miles across the country to join Morgan. On the third day he came up with him on the Catawba, and, after a brief interview, rejoined his army at Salisbury.

Cornwallis reported to Clinton that "great exertions were made to intercept Morgan's corps on its retreat to the Catawba; but the celerity of their movements and the swelling of numberless creeks in our way rendered all our efforts fruitless. I therefore halted two days at Ramsour's Mill, collecting some flour, and destroying superfluous baggage and all my waggons, except those loaded with hospital stores, salt and ammunition."¹ An heroic measure to adopt, and one involving much sacrifice of comfort and convenience; but he thereby converted his whole army into a light corps capable of very rapid movement.

The retreat of Greene diagonally across the whole State of North Carolina, a distance of 230 miles from Cowpens to the river Dan in Virginia, is worthy to be ranked with the most famous retreats in the annals of war.² On no page of military history can be found greater skill of leadership, or more admirable examples of heroic endurance on

¹ Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, I, 356.

² "The retreat of Gen. Greene and the pursuit of Lord Cornwallis, are worthy to be placed among the most remarkable events of the American war; they would have done honour to the most celebrated Captains of that, or any former epoch."—*Botta*, II, 319.

the part of the troops. Cornwallis was in hot pursuit with 4000 well-equipped veterans, while Greene could muster but 2000 men deprived almost of the necessities of life. The roads were few and wretched; the country traversed by great rivers; the season cold and wet; and yet in this march of four weeks "in the very depth of winter, the men half-naked, marking their steps with blood which flowed from their bare feet; pinched with hunger, without tents, many destitute of blankets, drenched with perpetual rains, often wading waist deep through rapid streams—not one man deserted."¹

Nor can praise for heroic endurance be denied to the enemy: both armies were exposed to the same hardships and suffering, though the British had the great advantage of being warmly clad. Greene wrote to Washington on February 15th:—"The miserable situation of the troops for want of clothing, has rendered the march the most painful imaginable; many hundreds of the soldiers tracking the ground with their bloody feet."¹

None suffered more, or bore their trials more bravely, than the men of the Maryland Line, who were without tents from the time when they were assigned to Morgan's command till they crossed the Dan, a period of nearly two months. One of their Delaware fellow-soldiers wrote of them:—"The manly fortitude of the Maryland Line was

¹ Johnson's *Greene*, I, 402, 435.

very great, being obliged to march barefoot, all the winter wanting coats and shoes, which they bore with the greatest patience imaginable, for which their praise should never be forgotten.”¹ The figures are pathetically eloquent which tell us that at the end of the march the Maryland Line had but 861 men fit for duty, and 274, or nearly one-fourth their number, in the hospitals.

This retreat was not only the admiration of the friends of the Revolution, it has called forth the most unqualified praises from every British writer.² While the story of it is the most painful, it is also the most inspiring page in the history of the campaign. Gallant deeds in the shock of battle stir the pulses and rouse the imagination to enthusiasm; but they are often surpassed in real courage and manliness by simple performance of duty under trying circumstances, by patient, heroic submission to every kind of suffering.

In all their trials the men were inspired and encouraged by the noble example of their great chief; there were none of their pains which he did not share, none of their burdens which he did not help to bear. At the post of duty at all hours of the night or day, after the battle of Guilford he wrote to his wife that he had not taken off his clothes for six weeks. As hopeful as he was brave, on but one occasion do we hear from him despondent

¹ *Penn. Hist. Magazine*, VII, 292.

² *Johnson's Greene*, I, 432.

words; and, familiar as is the story, it must be repeated here, for it commemorates the devotion of a noble woman. Gen. Greene arrived at Steele's tavern in Salisbury, after midnight, drenched with the rain and utterly exhausted. "Are you alone?" asked his host. "Yes, tired, hungry, alone and penniless." Mrs. Steele heard these words; she hastened to serve a hot supper to her guest, and then furtively drawing from under her apron two little bags of silver, said: "Take these, for you need them, and I can do without them."

Despondent he might well be, and doubtful as to the possibility of accomplishing results so great with means so inadequate; yet his letters at this time breathe a trust and confidence almost prophetic. On January 30th he wrote to Huger: "It is necessary we should take every possible precaution to guard against a misfortune. But I am not without hopes of ruining Lord Cornwallis, if he persists in his mad scheme of pushing through the country. Here is a fine field and great glory ahead." And again on February 5th: "From Cornwallis's pressing disposition and the contempt he has for our army, we may precipitate him into some capital misfortune."¹

The British commanders gave full credit to Greene and his followers for their skill and courage in these trying days. Tarleton said, "Every meas-

¹ Johnson's *Greene*, I, 404, 424.

ure of the Americans, during their march from the Catawba to Virginia, was judiciously designed and vigorously executed.”¹ Lord Germain wrote to Cornwallis, “The rebels conduct their enterprises in Carolina with more spirit and skill than they have shown in any other part of America.”²

Greene divined all of his adversary’s plans, and baffled them at every point. What those plans were is succinctly stated in Cornwallis’s report of March 17th to Lord Germain:—“I hoped to destroy or drive out of South Carolina Gen. Morgan’s corps: and I likewise hoped to get between Gen. Greene and Virginia, and force him to fight, without receiving reinforcements from that Province; or, failing of that, to oblige him to quit North Carolina with precipitation.”²

In his pursuit of Morgan, Cornwallis reached Cowan’s Ford of the Catawba on February 1st, where his crossing was bravely but vainly resisted by a body of North Carolina militia, who there lost their commander, Gen. Davidson, one of the best of Greene’s officers. Beyond this point there was little further opposition on the march to the Yadkin. Tarleton reports that, learning that the militia were assembling at Torrance’s tavern, he rode rapidly thither, and ordering his dragoons to “advance and remember the Cowpens,” they

¹ Tarleton’s *Campaigns*, 236.

² Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, II, 10; and I, 355.

broke through the enemy killing and dispersing them.¹

After the fall of Davidson Gen. Pickens took command of the militia, about 700 in number, and followed in the trail of Cornwallis.

On February 3d Morgan crossed the Yadkin at Trading Ford, seven miles east of Salisbury, securing all the boats before the arrival of his pursuers; so that when Gen. O'Hara² with the advanced guard reached the opposite bank, he could only look regretfully at the deep waters and indulge in a vain cannonade. No loss was inflicted, but the incident is kept in memory by the fact that one of the balls shattered the roof of a cabin in which Greene was seated writing his reports; yet the General calmly "wrote on and seemed to note nothing but his despatches." Cornwallis's report is that "the guards came up with Morgan's rear at the Trading Ford of the Yadkin, which he had just passed. The river had now become impassable, and I determined to march to the upper fords—and with great expedition get between Greene and them—in hopes that he would not escape me without receiving a blow."³

¹ Tarleton's *Campaigns*, 232.

² It is not without interest to note that this is the same Gen. O'Hara who in 1793 was in command of the English garrison at Toulon, where he was wounded and taken prisoner in the famous attack upon the city which was the beginning of Napoleon's wonderful career.

³ Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, I, 359.

With this purpose he pushed forward, expecting to cut Greene off from the upper fords of the Dan, and force him to fight or surrender. But again was he foiled by the superior strategy of his wary adversary. Greene changed his course to Guilford Court House, where all the divisions of his army were reunited on February 8th, while the British were at Salem, but twenty-five miles distant. Here he reconnoitred the ground, and selected the field on which a month later he was to meet the enemy—Guilford, which Lord Germain said Cornwallis made forever “famous by the glorious victory gained there over the rebel forces ;”¹ but the anniversary of which we celebrate as a seeming reverse which was to bring to us all the real fruits of a great triumph.

The day of decisive conflict however had not yet dawned ; reinforcements were needed before an engagement could be risked, and the retreat was continued. On February 10th began the march to Irwin’s Ferry, seventy miles from Guilford, where Greene intended to cross the Dan into Virginia. To protect his rear from the closely following enemy, he formed a special light corps of 700 men, composed of a detachment of the Maryland Line, of Lee’s Legion and Washington’s cavalry. The command was offered to Gen. Morgan, but ill health compelling him to retire from service, Col. Otho Williams was

¹ Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, II, 10.

assigned to the post. The eminent services rendered by this select corps, both on the retreat and after the return of the army from Virginia to North Carolina, won the special thanks of the commanding general, and make one of the most brilliant pages in the annals of the Maryland Line.

We have noted Greene's wisdom in the choice of his Lieutenants, and nowhere did he show better judgment than in selecting Col. Williams to cover his retreat. Garden, one of Greene's aides-de-camp, who served under Williams in this campaign, credits him with possessing every requisite for the discharge of this difficult duty—coolness, endless resource, vigilance, military skill and prudence. He had elsewhere shown his great soldierly qualities, intrepidity on the battle field, discipline in camp, and intelligence in the cabinet; and now evincing "the most perfect self-command, he put nothing at hazard, and frequently suffered the opportunity to escape of acquiring advantages which would have increased his own fame, rather than risk what might, in its result, prove injurious to his country."¹

The safety of the whole army depended upon this devoted band, and that this difficult retreat was successfully carried through, is largely due to Williams of Maryland. His task was to keep between Greene and Cornwallis, and to conceal

¹Garden's *Anecdotes*, 59.

from the latter the movements of the American army. He therefore kept the British on his left and in his rear, and the Americans in front and on his right. In this critical position, with the pursuing enemy frequently in sight, ceaseless vigilance was indispensable, and the severest duty was exacted of the troops. Half of the men were alternately on night service as patrol, and none could have more than six hours rest in forty-eight. The daily march began long before dawn, to get far enough in advance of the enemy to allow time for cooking breakfast, the only regular meal of the day; and on reaching the halting-place at night, men and officers would fall upon the ground, too weary for food, craving only repose.

On February 14th the main army safely crossed the Dan at Irwin's Ford, and as soon as Williams learned this fact, he hastened after Greene with all speed, marching forty miles in one day; and Cornwallis reached the river the next morning only to see the enemy disappearing over the Virginia hills. The arduous task had been accomplished; "in the camp of Greene joy beamed in every face; and as if every man was conscious of having done his duty, the days subsequent to the reunion of the army on the north of the Dan were spent in mutual gratulations; with the rehearsal of the hopes and fears which agitated every breast during the retreat; interspersed with the many simple but

interesting anecdotes with which every tongue was strung. No operation during the war attracted more the public attention, for the safety of the Southern Provinces hung upon its issue. Destroy Greene's army, and the Carolinas with Georgia inevitably became members of the British empire."¹

Baffled and disappointed, Cornwallis relinquished the pursuit and turned aside to Hillsborough, to refresh his troops and to summon to his standard the Loyalists of North Carolina. The explanation of this movement, given in his report of March 17th to Lord Germain, is that "heavy rains and bad roads rendered all our exertions vain; for on our arrival at Boyd's ferry on February 15th, we found that Greene had crossed the day before. My force being ill-suited to enter by that quarter so powerful a province as Virginia, I proceeded to Hillsborough."²

The failure to destroy Greene's army must indeed have been a bitter disappointment; all the sacrifices, all the heroic efforts had been in vain. Tarleton however, in his account, makes light of the situation, and says: "The Continentals being chased out of North Carolina, and the militia awed, Earl Cornwallis thought the opportunity favorable for assembling the King's friends, and proceeded by easy marches to Hillsborough,"³

¹ Lee's *Memoirs*, 247, 251.

² Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, I, 360.

³ Tarleton's *Campaigns*, 236.

where he opened correspondence with Major Craig, who had occupied Wilmington on January 29th. But he was soon to learn that the "King's friends" were far less numerous than was supposed; that the "chased Continentals" were deliberately returning to drive his lordship out of North Carolina; while the "awed militia" under Pickens presumptuously captured a picket post within a mile and a half of the British camp, on the very day of Cornwallis's arrival in Hillsborough.

It was plain there could be no repose for the troops, and within a week Cornwallis marched out again to the river Haw, and crossing it took post near Alamance Creek on February 27th; for the fleeing rebel had become the insolent aggressor; Greene had returned from Virginia, his army reinforced by Pickens's North Carolinians, and Campbell and Stevens's Virginia regulars and militia. Tarleton severely criticizes this movement of his chief, which was however forced upon him by Greene's strategy. "If Gen. Greene lost the confidence of his friends by quitting North Carolina, when pursued by a superior force, Earl Cornwallis likewise relinquished his claim to the superiority of the British arms by abandoning Hillsborough on the return of the American general into the Province."¹

¹Tarleton's *Campaigns*, 241.

VI.

The North Carolina Legislature at its session in January reduced the six battalions of Continentals to four, and devised means for raising a new force of regulars. Many volunteers having joined Greene, he at once resumed the offensive, and on February 23d recrossed the Dan, purposing to cut off Cornwallis from the upper country, and force him to retreat to Wilmington. Williams's flying corps had already been sent forward on February 18th; and he and Lee, together with Pickens's command, were keeping a close watch on the enemy's movements, and harassing him at every turn. An important skirmish took place at Whitsill's Mill on March 6th, where Williams's dash and energy were conspicuous. All of Cornwallis's manœuvres to destroy Greene's detachments in detail were baffled by the skill and caution of their commanders, and the various divisions of the American army finally forming a junction at High Rock, nothing remained for him but to try the fortune of a pitched battle.

This issue Greene was now willing to accept; for with augmented force he felt, if not confident of victory, at least hopeful of such a measure of success as would cripple his adversary. As he modestly expresses it in a letter to Jefferson five days before the battle of Guilford: "I trust I shall be able to

prescribe the limits of the enemy's depredations, and at least dispose of the army in such a manner as to encumber him with a number of wounded men."¹

Determined now to risk an engagement, on March 14th Greene encamped on his chosen ground at Guilford Court-House. His army far outnumbered the enemy; but Cornwallis's troops were all veterans, while more than two-thirds of Greene's force consisted of new levies of militia. For them the field selected was very favourable, as it abounded in strong positions, and was in great part a forest, which afforded them protection against the push of the bayonet or the charge of cavalry. The only veterans were the 1st Maryland, Lee's Legion, and Washington's horse; though many of the officers of the recruits were tried soldiers.

Tarleton pronounces Guilford "one of the most hazardous, as well as severe battles of the war. The post occupied by Greene was extremely well chosen, and the manner of forming his troops unexceptionable."² The order of battle was that prudent disposition which we have noted at Cowpens, exposing the militia to the first onset of the

¹ Johnson's *Greene*, I, 474.

² Tarleton's *Campaigns*, 284.

Gen. O'Hara too said of Guilford: "No battle was ever more obstinately contested. Both armies were entitled to exalted praise." Garden's *Anecdotes*, 2nd Series, III, 173.

enemy, and reserving the regulars for a final defence, and to cover an orderly retreat. Greene's artillery consisted of but four six-pounders, and two of these, under Captain Singleton, were placed in the centre of the first line, commanding the road by which the British must approach. The van consisted of North Carolina recruits under Generals Eaton and Butler, stationed back of a clearing, with their flanks in the woods, protected by covering parties of riflemen and cavalry under Washington, Lee, and Campbell.

The Virginia militia composed the second line, 300 yards in the rear and entirely in the forest. Five hundred yards behind them was the third line of two brigades of Continentals; the one consisting of two Virginia regiments commanded by Gen. Huger, and the other of the First and Second Maryland under Williams, with Gunby and Ford as Colonels. Of these four regiments of regulars, the First Maryland, made up of the heroes of Camden and of Cowpens, is the only one that had been under fire. With this rear line were the remaining two cannon, and here was the General's post of observation during the action.

Cornwallis's camp was at the New Garden Quaker Meeting-House, between the forks of Deep River, twelve miles west of Guilford. At daybreak on the 15th he set out to find the rebel army. The morning was beautiful; the clear crisp atmosphere filled

the soldiers' hearts with buoyant life and spirit, and braced their nerves to deeds of manly daring. Greene's army slept on the battle-field on the night of the 14th, and at early dawn Lee was sent out to reconnoitre. Meeting Tarleton's dragoons about four miles from Guilford, he engaged them in a sharp skirmish, and then retired to his post on the left wing of the Virginians.

It was high noon when Cornwallis came in sight of the American lines. On the British right was Bose's regiment and the 71st under Gen. Leslie, supported by a battalion of the Guards; on the left the 23rd and 33rd regiments commanded by Col. Webster, and supported by the Grenadiers and the 2nd battalion of the Guards under Gen. O'Hara. Under cover of an artillery fire, which was replied to by Singleton's two little guns, the British infantry advanced to the attack. Crossing the open field, they were received at fifty yards with so withering a fire from the North Carolinians, that Captain Stuart of the Scotch regiment declared that "one-half the Highlanders dropped on that spot,"¹ and one of the riflemen said that "the part of the British line at which they aimed looked like the scattering stalks in a wheat field, when the harvest-man has passed over it with his cradle."¹ A moment later however, the British were upon them with the bayonet, turning their retreat into

¹ Caruthers' *Sketches of the Revolution*, 2d series, 134.

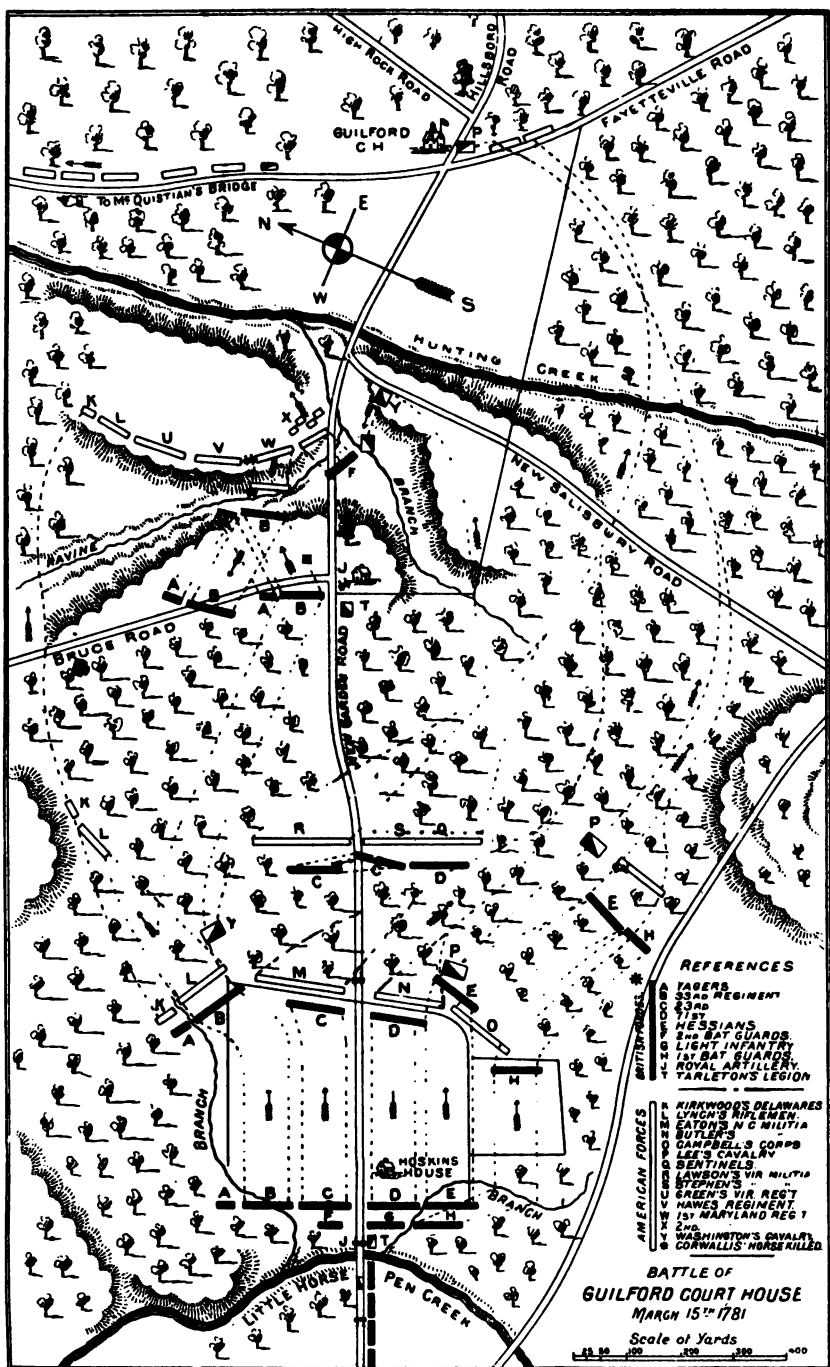
a disorderly flight; though Singleton saved his guns and withdrew with them to the left flank of the regulars.¹

Dashing forward to the second line, the enemy met with a more obstinate resistance. Their right, under Leslie, became warmly engaged in front, flank and rear; while Webster's left being attacked in flank, he changed front to the left, supported by the Yagers and Guards. Scattering Lawson's Virginians, he advanced through the wood, and found himself face to face with the Continentals, who were drawn up on the brow of the opposite hill, a rough field traversed by a ravine intervening between them and the enemy.

Across this the British gallantly charged; but at the close distance of forty paces the 1st Maryland met them with a murderous fire before which they reeled and recoiled; and Gunby, dashing upon them with the bayonet, drove them back a broken mass across the ravine to the shelter of the woods. Many of their best fell here; Webster himself, Cornwallis's finest officer,² receiving a wound which

¹ For a full discussion of the conduct of the N. C. militia, see Schenck's *North Carolina*, 334-358.

² "To be first among the officers in the army under Lord Cornwallis, must be admitted to be no slight distinction; and this station had been long assigned with one voice to the gallant Webster. With this superiority in arms was combined the winning amiability which virtue in heart and virtue in habit never fail to produce, especially when united to the embellishment of literature and the manners of polished life."—Lee's *Memoirs*, 292.



■ SITE OF THE MARYLAND MONUMENT.

proved mortal. As the 1st Maryland was returning to its position after this brilliant charge, Col. Stuart of the Guards fell upon the 2nd Maryland, which unhappily broke before the onset, and Singleton lost his guns.

Washington with his troop of horse was on a hill commanding Stuart's right, and from this point of vantage he bore down upon his flank, and burst through the ranks with a force irresistible. On the other flank came Howard—now in command, as Gunby had been unhorsed—with the terrible bayonets of the 1st Maryland, and a desperate fight ensued which was rarely paralleled during the war. The contest was hand to hand, and splendid were the examples of personal gallantry on both sides. Johnson tells the story of the tragic death of the British commander: "Two combatants particularly attracted the attention of those around them. These were Col. Stuart of the Guards and Captain John Smith of the Marylanders, both men conspicuous for nerve and sinew. They had met before (at Cowpens), and had vowed that their next meeting should end in blood. Regardless of the bayonets that were clashing around them, they rushed at each other with a fury that admitted of but one result. The quick pass of Stuart's small sword was skilfully put by with the left hand, whilst the heavy sabre of his antagonist cleft the Briton to the spine."¹

¹ Johnson's *Greene*, II, 12.

Cornwallis seeing that the Guards were being cut to pieces, opened an artillery fire through his fleeing troops upon their pursuers, pouring volleys of grape on the mingled mass of friend and foe. The remedy was a desperate one, but there was none other left; he decimated a battalion of his best troops, but he stopped the advance of the resistless Marylanders. The British were now able to rally in full force, and Greene, unwilling to risk the destruction of his handful of Continentals, ordered a general retreat to Reedy Fork Creek, three miles in the rear. This movement was covered by the fresh regiment of Virginia regulars, which had not been in action, and after a halt here of some hours, the whole army retired to the Iron Works at Troublesome Creek, ten miles from Guilford. This retreat was conducted in a leisurely and orderly manner, unmolested by the enemy; for the victor was in no condition to follow up his advantage. A third of his men lay dead and wounded on the field, and among them were some of his best officers. Cornwallis's report says "Our troops were excessively fatigued by the action, which had lasted an hour and a half, and our numerous wounded demanded immediate attention, so that we could not pursue."¹

Both Generals had exposed themselves recklessly; Cornwallis had two horses killed under

¹ Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, I, 367.

him, and Greene narrowly escaped capture. The fight was brief, but at the end of it the American General fainted from exhaustion.

We are told that while the battle was raging, all the women of the neighbourhood were at prayer. What a touching and dramatic scene does this suggest! The air is filled with the sounds of strife,—the roar of cannon, the heavy tread of man and horse, the exultant shout, the groans of agony and despair,—and amidst it all rise to the eternal throne the pathetic petitions:—

“Have mercy upon me, O God, and give me the comfort of Thy help!

“Fight Thou, O Lord, against them that fight against me.

“It is not my sword that shall help me; but it is Thou that savest us.

“Stand up, O Lord God of Hosts, and deliver us from our enemies!”

The night that followed the battle was one of horror: it was impossible to minister to the many wounded of both armies; a cold rain added to their suffering, and many died before morning from loss of blood, from cold and exposure.

The long-sought battle was fought and won; Cornwallis had at last tasted the fruit of victory, but only to find that it turned to ashes on his lips. “The brilliant victory of March 15th,” wrote Sir Henry Clinton, “had all the consequences of de-

feat." "Another such victory," exclaimed Fox in Parliament, "will ruin the British army! From the report of Cornwallis there is the most conclusive evidence that the war is at once impracticable in its object and ruinous in its progress."¹

Though tactically a defeat for the Americans, Guilford was strategically a decisive victory, and the most important one since the capture of Burgoyne.² Tarleton's statement is that "the ability of the English commander, seconded by the vigour and resolution of his officers and soldiers, with extreme difficulty forced the enemy from their position, and in that fortunate exploit the British army was crippled, by the quality and number of the officers and men killed and wounded. The victory, however honourable to the General and the troops, was not useful or advantageous to Great Britain."³

Cornwallis had made every possible effort to insure complete success, and his men had bravely responded to all his demands upon them. While the American soldiers won imperishable renown at Guilford, it is equally true that no battle of the war reflects more honour on the courage of the British troops; for on no other occasion did they fight with such inferiority of numbers, or disadvantages of ground.⁴ Lee declared that "on no

¹ Bancroft, V, 495.

² Fiske's *Amer. Rev.*, II, 260.

³ Tarleton's *Campaigns*, 285, 286.

⁴ Marshall's *Washington*, IV, 371.

occasion, in any part of the world, was British valour more heroically displayed."¹

Of the American officers who died on the field none was a greater loss to his country than Major Anderson of the 1st Maryland. He had done splendid service at Camden, and now shared in all the glory won by his regiment at Guilford: it is most fitting that his honoured dust should mingle with this historic soil. The conduct of the 1st Maryland has received most lavish praise from all quarters. Johnson challenges "the modern world to produce an instance of better service performed by the same number of men in the same time."² They routed the famous 33d regiment, and drove its shattered ranks into the forest; then breaking through the flank of the Guards, who, on account of the dense woods, had passed their left unseen, they, with Washington's cavalry, scattered like chaff the flower of the British army. Checked in the pursuit by the enemy's artillery, they returned to their position in perfect order. Proud may Maryland be of such an example of courage and discipline! Washington wrote to Greene on April 18th: "I am truly sensible of the merits and fortitude of the veteran bands under your command, and wish the sentiments I entertain of their worth could be communicated with the warmth I feel."²

¹ Lee's *Memoirs*, 286.

² Johnson's *Greene*, II, 15, 25.

Greene could not know that Guilford was the decisive event of the campaign, or that its result would be the abandonment of North Carolina by Lord Cornwallis, and his ultimate surrender at Yorktown; but he knew that he had dealt a mortal blow to British power in the South. In an interesting letter to Reed, written but three days after the fight, he says:—"The battle was long, obstinate and bloody. We were obliged to give up the ground, and lost our artillery; but the enemy have been so soundly beaten, that they dare not move towards us since the action, notwithstanding we lay within ten miles of them for two days. Except the ground and the artillery, they have gained no advantage; on the contrary they are little short of being ruined. We have little to eat, less to drink, and lodge in the woods in the midst of smoke. Never did an army labour under so many disadvantages as this; but the fortitude and patience of the officers and soldiery rise superior to all difficulties. I have never felt an easy moment since the enemy crossed the Catawba until since the defeat of the 15th, but now I am perfectly easy, being persuaded it is out of the enemy's power to do us any great injury."¹

The temporary check led to a permanent success, and the biographer of Burke cites Guilford as a "type in this respect of the whole American war;

¹ Reed's *Reed*, II, 350.

a battle won was scarcely more advantageous than a battle lost, and to conquer was not to subdue. This signal victory was attended with all the consequences of a defeat."¹

The battle of King's Mountain drove Cornwallis back into South Carolina; the defeat at the Cowpens made his second invasion of North Carolina a desperate enterprise; the battle at Guilford Court-House transformed the American army into pursuers, the British into fugitives.²

VII.

From the battle-field Cornwallis retired to his camp at the New Garden Meeting House, and on March 18th, he issued a proclamation³ thanking God

¹ McKnight, *Life of Burke*, II, 435.

² Bancroft's *U. S.*, old edition, X, 479.

³ A parody on Cornwallis's proclamation was written in camp on March 30th, 1781, by St. George Tucker, of Virginia.

"Whereas by providence divine
Which on our arms has deigned to shine,
On Thursday last we fought a battle
With lousy, vile rebellious cattle,
And to our everlasting glory
(Unaided by a single Tory)
The rebel forces did defeat,
And gain a victory compleat:
I therefore, willing to uphold
The weak, and to reward the bold,
Do issue this my Proclamation,
Without regard to sect or station,

for his "signal success and complete victory over the rebel forces," and calling on all Loyalists to "stand forth and take an active part in restoring good order and government;" yet on that very day he destroyed his baggage, left behind his hospital with seventy-five wounded men, and began a hasty retreat to the sea-coast. He had tried to bribe his prisoners to renounce their allegiance to the American cause, assuring them that it was utterly lost, and that Greene was hopelessly ruined. While an English officer was thus tempting the men to desert their colours, "the sound of the morning guns from Greene's camp came reverberating from the hills. An old Tar Heel heard the familiar signal, and cried out: 'Listen, Boys! the old cock is crowing again,' and a shout of defiance went up that convinced the English officer that patriotism in the old North State was above

Requiring every loyal Tory
To come to me and share the glory
And toil of bringing back to reason
The wretches guilty of high treason,
Whereby the government benign
Of Britain's majesty divine
With lustre primitive may shine.

Let no ill-natured imputation
Be cast on this our Proclamation,
Because from hence, with God's permission,
I mean to march with expedition;
Though I confess we do not mean
To go in quest of Mr. Greene." etc.

Mag. of Amer. Hist., VII, 45.

the temptation of bribery or the intimidation of British power.”¹

Forced to retire to the coast, Cornwallis crossed the Deep River at Ramsay’s Mill, and marched down the right bank of the Cape Fear to Wilmington, where he arrived on April 7th. Greene followed for a while his retreating rival, and on March 21st he wrote to Lee, who had been sent forward on a reconnaissance, “Forward me the best intelligence you can get: I mean to fight the enemy again: Lord Cornwallis must be soundly beaten before he will relinquish his hold.”² He evidently then expected to overtake his fleeing adversary, and strike him on the march; but he soon changed his plan, and resolved to accomplish indirectly his purpose of relieving North Carolina of the presence of the enemy.

On March 29th he wrote to Washington: “I am determined to carry the war immediately into South Carolina. The enemy will be obliged to follow us or give up his posts in that State. If the former takes place, it will draw the war out of this State and give it an opportunity to raise its proportion of men. If they leave their posts to fall, they must lose more than they can gain here.”³ Lord Rawdon, one of Cornwallis’s able Lieutenants, who was then in command in South Carolina, had

¹ Schenck’s *North Carolina*, 372.

² Lee’s *Memoirs*, 288.

³ Johnson’s *Greene*, II. 37.

a long line of defences extending from Charleston by way of Camden and Ninety-Six to Augusta, Georgia, and Greene might strike this at any point.

Accordingly, after gathering supplies and giving his troops some days of rest, on April 6th he crossed Deep River at Ramsay's Mill and marched westward to the Yadkin, whence by easy stages he reached Hobkirk's Hill near Camden on April 20th. This post of evil memory was under the command of Rawdon in person, and he, kept informed by Tories of all Greene's movements, was able to surprise him by a sudden attack on the morning of the 25th.

The Americans were posted on a ridge with their flanks covered by a forest and a swamp, and the line of battle was quickly formed with the Maryland and Virginia brigades of Continentals in front, and Washington's cavalry with Col. Read's North Carolina militia in the rear. The British attack was sharp, but it was firmly met by the regulars, who were ordered to charge with fixed bayonets down the hill on the advancing foe, while Ford, of the 2nd Maryland, and Washington were to strike him in flank and rear. From the success of this movement Greene promised himself a complete victory; but it failed because the regiment on which he chiefly depended, the 1st Maryland, made up of the heroes of many battles, was thrown into disorder and gave way before the enemy.

They were rallied by Gunby and Howard, but it was then too late. Lee's account is that "in this movement the veteran regiment of Gunby, having first joined in the fire, in violation of orders, paused; its right falling back. Gunby unfortunately directed the disordered battalion to rally by retiring to its right company. Retrograde being the consequence of this order, the British line, giving a shout, pressed forward with redoubled ardour; and the regiment of Gunby, considered as the bulwark of the army, never recovered from the panic with which it was at this moment unaccountably seized."¹

The 2nd Maryland behaved with great gallantry, and fully retrieved the reputation it had lost at Guilford; but its valiant leader Ford being mortally wounded, it began to yield, and Greene to save his army ordered a general retreat.

The action at Hobkirk's was a decided reverse for the American arms, though Rawdon was unable to profit by his victory. The losses were equal, about one-fourth of the number engaged; but on our side they included such valuable officers as Lieut.-Col. Ford and Captain Beatty of Maryland, whom Greene eulogizes in his report of the battle as "one of the best of officers, and an ornament to his profession." It was not a day of glory for our troops, and Greene ascribed the disaster entirely to the error of Col. Gunby; yet the "hero of Hob-

¹ Lee's *Memoirs*, 337.

kirk," as the "hero of Cowpens," was a Marylander. Captain John Smith, whose desperate fight with Col. Stuart we have noticed at Guilford, was ordered with forty-five picked men to rescue three pieces of artillery which were exposed to capture by the enemy. The danger was so imminent that Greene himself dismounted and seized the ropes to drag off the guns. The British cavalry charged again and again to secure the prize, but were repulsed by the little band of Marylanders; until Rawdon's infantry joining in the attack, every man of Smith's company was killed or captured.

Some weeks later, when he had recovered from his wounds, Smith was released on parole and set out on foot for Charleston. On the road he was seized by a party of British soldiers, stripped and cruelly beaten. At Charleston he became intimate with some English officers, and meeting one day at their quarters an officer who had taken part in this deed of shame, he expressed to his friends surprise that they would associate with a man capable of an act of dishonour. Asked to explain, he told the story of his disgrace and suffering. "Then kick him, Smith," was the general reply, "and he had the gratification of kicking the rascal out of the company."¹

Col. Gunby, pained by the criticisms on his conduct in the field, demanded a court-martial, which

¹ Johnson's *Traditions of the Revolution*, 365.

was granted him. Its finding was that "Gunby's spirit and activity were unexceptionable; but his order for the regiment to retire was improper and unmilitary, and in all probability the only cause why we did not obtain a complete victory." He soon after retired from service, stung to the heart by this unhappy close of his brilliant career. A striking instance of the caprice of fortune! Gunby attempted at Hobkirk's Hill the same movement that Howard accomplished so successfully at Cowpens; to the one it brought ruin, to the other undying fame.

The defeat at Hobkirk's did not change the plans of the American commander, or bring any permanent advantage to the victor. Greene continued to threaten the British stronghold at Camden, and a fortnight after the battle Lord Rawdon abandoned the post, after burning all his stores and the public buildings. Greene's repulse at Guilford had freed all western North Carolina; his defeat at Hobkirk's was speedily followed by the recovery of Camden. Despite apparent failure, his strategic movement into South Carolina was already successful in its aim. Tarleton acknowledges that "the wisdom and vigour of the American operations deranged all the designs of Earl Cornwallis at Wilmington."¹ On April 23rd, there-

¹ Tarleton's *Campaigns*, 290.

fore on the eve of the affair at Hobkirk's, the Earl wrote to Lord Germain that it was impossible for him to return to Camden, to aid Lord Rawdon and save South Carolina, for any disaster to his army would make general a spirit of revolt in that Province,—that Greene might hem him in among the great rivers and cut off his subsistence,—therefore he would take advantage of Greene's leaving lower Virginia open, and march immediately into that Province, and join Gen. Phillips at Petersburg.¹ These are very significant words: not six weeks have elapsed since the "glorious victory" at Guilford, and already we see foreshadowed the abandonment of all his conquests in the Carolinas, and the fateful march to Yorktown.

After Hobkirk's the minor British posts fell in rapid succession: Fort Watson had surrendered on April 23, Camden was abandoned on May 10, Orangeburg May 11, Fort Motte May 12, Nelson's Ferry May 14, Fort Granby May 15, and Georgetown,—all within three weeks. Apart from the seaports, which were protected by the British fleet, at the end of May there remained but two important posts in the enemy's power, Augusta and Ninety-Six. The former surrendered to Gen. Pickens on June 5th, when the gallant Major Eaton fell, and all Georgia except Savannah was redeemed from British rule.

¹ Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, I, 421.

Greene now concentrated his forces for the siege of Ninety-Six, which he had invested on May 26th ; and Lord Rawdon, who had been reinforced by three regiments of fresh troops, hastened to its relief. Informed of his approach, Greene attempted to carry the fort by storm, and met with a bloody repulse, his loss being more than double that of the enemy. In this assault Lieutenants Duval of Maryland and Selden of Virginia led the forlorn hope. They leaped into the ditch, and began tearing down the abatis ; but they were received with a terrible cross-fire, and the height of the parapet foiled all their heroic efforts. Very few of their men were unhurt, and the ditch was filled with the wounded and dead. The sacrifice was in vain, but again had Maryland cause to be proud of the gallantry of her young heroes. "Never was greater bravery exhibited than by the parties led on by Duval and Selden. Both these officers were wounded, and the greater part of their men wounded or killed."¹ Equal heroism was displayed by the enemy ; and it is worthy of note that the valiant defenders of Ninety-Six,—as afterwards of the brick house at Eutaw Springs,—were Americans, a resolute band of Provincials led by Lieut. Col. Cruger of New York.

Greene abandoned the siege and retreated rapidly northward ; Rawdon, now far superior in

¹ Greene's Report, Tarleton, 514.

numbers, trying in vain to overtake him and force him to fight. Failing in this, the British General determined to evacuate Ninety-Six, and to withdraw to a line of defence nearer the sea; the Santee, Congaree and Edisto rivers now becoming the limits of British sway. The greater part of South Carolina had thus in a short time been recovered, though the patriots had won no battle. As the hot and sickly season came on, Greene took post on July 16th in the healthful region of the hill country on the Santee, and gave his exhausted soldiers a brief repose.¹

VIII.

In the meantime, under the greatest and most discouraging difficulties, Gen. Jethro Sumner² had raised and equipped a new brigade of North Carolina Continentals, to replace those surrendered by Lincoln at Charleston. With this addition to his army Greene would be compensated for the reinforcements which Rawdon had received, and could

¹ Washington wrote Greene on July 30th: "I am unable to conceive what more could have been done under your circumstances, than has been displayed by your little persevering and determined army."—Ford's *Washington*, IX, 319.

² Generals Jethro Sumner and Robert Howe, Colonels Thomas Clarke and Hardy Murfree, Majors Reading Blount and William Polk, Captains John Daves and Edward Yarborough, Lieutenants Thomas Pasteur and Richard Fenner, with fifty other officers of the Continental Line, were the original members of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati.

once more take the field. The difficulty of procuring arms and clothing for these troops was so great that not until July were they ready to enter upon the campaign; and but for their good fortune in getting some muskets from Virginia, the North Carolinians might not have been in time to share the glories of Eutaw. The hardships which the men had to endure were no less than in the Guilford campaign, except that they were not exposed to the cold and rains of winter. Major John Armstrong wrote to Gen. Sumner on July 1st from the camp between the Broad and Catawba rivers: "We are without money, clothing, or any kind of nourishment for our sick; not one gill of rum, sugar or coffee; no tents or camp kettles or canteens; no doctor, no medicine." There is a touch of pathos in the words "We are in a fine situation; plenty of good water. It hath one failing—it will not *make grog*." ¹

By August 15th all difficulties had been overcome, and Sumner joined Greene with 800 regulars, in addition to the North Carolina militia already in camp. The American General now felt strong enough again to meet the enemy in the open field and try the issue of battle. The greatest heats of summer were past, the troops were rested and thoroughly drilled, and he might hope by one decisive blow to overthrow forever the British

¹Schenck's *North Carolina*, 434.

power in the South. Accordingly he broke up camp on August 23d, and marched towards the enemy, who was at no great distance on the other side of the Santee river.

Lord Rawdon had sailed for England, and Col. Stewart, now in command of the British forces, retired towards his defences at Charleston, and halted at the springs where Eutaw Creek empties into the Santee, in an admirable position, which he thought his adversary would not venture to attack. His right flank was perfectly protected by the Creek, and on its banks was a clearing, in which was a palisaded garden and a brick house, that might serve as a fortress of refuge in case of disaster. The woods covered the left flank, and the Springs the approaches from the rear; while from the centre of the camp radiated two roads which formed safe avenues of retreat.

The approach of Greene was unknown to the enemy, and early in the morning of September 8th his advanced guard surprised and captured the British "rooting party," as the foragers for sweet potatoes were called. The day was clear and calm, and it was growing warm as the two armies came in sight of each other and formed in order of battle. The British were drawn up in a single line, Major Coffin's cavalry covering their left, while the corps of Major Majoribanks, a brave and skilful officer, was posted in the woods on the right.

Greene's order of battle was the same as at Guilford, the militia in front and the regulars in the rear. The militia of North Carolina and South Carolina under Malmedy, Pickens and Marion formed the first line, with their flanks covered by Lee's Legion and Henderson's volunteers, many of whom were North Carolinians. The second line was composed of the Continentals; the Virginians under Col. Campbell in the centre; the Marylanders and North Carolinians on the left and right under Williams and Sumner. Washington's cavalry was in reserve.

The enemy attacked with their wonted impetuosity, but the brave Carolinians stood firm against the onset of the whole British army. In no battle of the war did the militia perform more brilliant service: it seemed as though in this last great fight for liberty they must make amends for all former failures, and show that any want of steadiness under fire was due merely to lack of opportunity for drill and discipline.¹ Greene himself, though his mind was filled with the trained soldier's distrust of irregular levies, wrote to Baron von Steuben that "such conduct would have graced the veterans of the great kingdom of Prussia."² And Johnson said that "it was

Many of these soldiers were the same that were accused of abandoning the field at Guilford, and they now behaved with such gallantry that of 300 in action 190 were killed or wounded. Garden's *Anecdotes*, 40.

¹ Johnson's *Greene*, II, 225.

with equal astonishment that both the American regulars and the troops of the enemy contemplated these men, steadily and without faltering, advance with shouts into the hottest of the enemy's fire, unaffected by the continual fall of their comrades around them."¹ They were greatly outnumbered, and they were facing the king's best regiments, but they did not yield till they had fired seventeen rounds, and their artillery was disabled.

When the militia retreated, Sumner promptly moved forward his three battalions of North Carolina Continentals, under Ashe, Blount and Armstrong, and reformed the line of battle. This brigade was composed of the new levies that had been under military drill but little more than a month; yet they were as cool and steady as veterans, and exhibited admirable courage and discipline. Greene reported that "the North Carolina brigade under Sumner, though not above three months raised, behaved nobly. I am at a loss which most to admire, the gallantry of the officers or the good conduct of their men."²

The British line was broken by the Carolinians, and now came the turn of the Marylanders in this dance of death. "Let Williams advance and sweep the field with his bayonets," was the order from Greene. Like a whirlwind came these heroes,

¹ Johnson's *Greene*, II, 225.

² Tarleton's *Campaigns*, 530. Johnson's *Greene*, II, 225.

and nothing could withstand their desperate onset. Stewart brought up his last reserves, but all were swept away before this resistless tide of steel. The enemy performed prodigies of valour, and many of the Irish Buffs and of the Marylanders fell face to face, transfixed with each other's bayonets. The veteran leaders who had witnessed many a brave struggle, were thrilled with admiration for the heroism here displayed. Otho Williams wrote: "To have an idea of the vivacity and intrepidity of the American troops, you must have shared their danger and seen their charge, which exceeded anything of the sort I ever saw before."¹ And Gen. Greene: "Nothing could exceed the gallantry of the Maryland Line. Col. Williams's uncommon intrepidity in leading on the Maryland troops to the charge, surpasses anything I ever saw. I cannot forbear praising the conduct and courage of all my troops. Never did men or officers offer their blood more willingly in the service of their country."²

A signal victory seemed absolutely certain; but again fickle fortune changed. The fleeing enemy entrenched themselves in the brick house and palisaded garden, and Major Majoribanks gallantly held his position on the right. On the American side the loss of officers had been very great; few

¹ Tiffany's *Memoir of Williams*, 25.

² Moore's *Diary*, II, 490.

of the commanders of regiments were unhurt. Only a Lieutenant remained to command Washington's troop, and Henderson, Howard, Campbell, with other brilliant officers were wounded. The men broke ranks and began plundering the enemy's camp. Poor fellows! few of the good things of life fell to their lot, and British fare and British rum were not to be resisted.

In this confusion Stewart returned vigorously to the attack, captured Greene's artillery, and forced him to order a retreat. Greene rallied his men on the ground where the action began, and both sides were too much exhausted to renew the fight. Each could claim the victory,¹ though as usual all the fruits of it fell to the Americans. Greene retired some miles, and then turning began a pursuit of the enemy, who after destroying their stores and a thousand stand of arms, abandoned many of the wounded, and retreated to their sea-coast defences.

For the numbers engaged few battles have been bloodier, and victory was bought at a terrible sacrifice. The American loss was about 500 killed and wounded; that of the British as great,

¹ "There were at Eutaw two successive engagements. In the first Greene won brilliantly and with little loss; in the second he sustained a defeat, with the death or capture of many of his bravest men. '*C'est une grande chose de savoir s'arrêter à temps,*' wrote to Lafayette Count de Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs in France, commenting on the incidents of this battle." Bancroft, old edition, X, 494.

besides several hundred prisoners. Twenty-one of Greene's officers died on the field, among them Lieut. Duval the Maryland hero of Ninety-Six.¹ Greene complimented his men on the field; Congress passed a flattering vote of thanks to the troops, and presented to the General a British standard and a gold medal emblematical of the battle and victory.

To General Greene is due indeed an unstinted meed of praise: few commanders have had greater difficulties to encounter; none with the same means have accomplished more. He had been in command less than ten months; he had won no decisive victory, and had been favoured by no brilliant stroke of fortune; yet the three Southern Provinces were completely freed from the presence of the enemy, with the exception of the seaports of Wilmington, Charleston and Savannah. "The Southern States," wrote Otho Williams after Eutaw, "were lost, they are now restored: the American arms were in disgrace; they are now in high reputation."² For the men who wrought this happy change no reward and no encomium can be too great. Nor can we forget the merit of their adversaries; men not of a different race, but of the same

¹ "The service did not boast an officer of more consummate valour, or higher promise, than Lieut. Duval. At Ninety-Six he led the forlorn hope, and at Eutaw he had captured a field-piece, when he was killed." Garden's *Anecdotes*, 95.

² Tiffany's *Memoir of Williams*, 28.

blood, and endowed with the same qualities as our heroes. What soldiers they were is shown by the fact that Eutaw is among the very few instances during the war where the British army was driven from its ground in a pitched battle. Tarleton said truly: "It is impossible to do justice to the spirit, patience, and invincible fortitude displayed by the British officers and soldiers during these dreadful campaigns in the two Carolinas. They displayed military and moral virtues far above all praise. Justice too requires that the Americans should not be deprived of their share of this fatal glory. They had the same difficulties to encounter, joined to a fortune in the field generally adverse."¹

After Eutaw Greene returned to his hill-camp to recruit the army; but the war was practically over, and the country had little further need of the services of these heroes. Their exploits had been as brilliant as any that adorn the pages of history, and their manly endurance of every kind of hardship is beyond all praise. Great trials were borne not merely with resignation, but with that marvellous buoyancy of spirits which was again so characteristic of the Confederate soldier: they made light of all their pains, and their distress was provocative of infinite wit. "The soldiers were merry with their misfortunes. They used 'starvation' as a cant-word, and vied with each other in

¹ Tarleton's *Campaigns*, 523.

burlesquing their situation. The wit and humour displayed contributed not a little to reconcile them to their sufferings."¹

The genius of Greene, the valour and skill of his officers, and the splendid conduct of the Southern troops, had brought the war to a happy close, and won independence for America. The British power in the Colonies was utterly broken, and a month later the surrender at Yorktown formed the last scene in the sanguinary drama.

IX.

The battle of Eutaw is a most fitting conclusion to this imperfect sketch of the exploits of the sons of Maryland and of North Carolina; a field on which more than half of the dead and wounded were North Carolinians, and where the men of the Maryland Line ended so brilliantly their five years of illustrious service. But it is on the battleground of Guilford that these achievements are most appropriately commemorated; for both in point of time and of importance Guilford is the central incident in the stirring twelvemonth between Camden and Eutaw; up to it all previous events naturally lead, and from it all subsequent ones logically flow.

It is to commemorate the deeds that we have described, to keep alive the memory of heroes such

¹ Ramsay's *Hist. of the Rev.*, II, 164.

as these, that this monument is erected. It is a simple block of Maryland granite, and on it are inscribed no names; for where all did so well, there should be no invidious distinction between officer and private. The same "meed of some melodious tear" is due to the noble Anderson, whose body has here mouldered into dust, as to the humblest soldier over whose nameless grave we place this memorial stone.

A recent historian has said that Maryland "has strangely forgotten the memory of those who gave this nation an existence. No mark distinguishes the resting-place of Major Anderson, a reproach which ought not longer to rest on his fellow-citizens, who followed after to enjoy the blessings purchased with his blood."¹ That reproach is now wiped out, and we have inscribed in bronze that this is "Maryland's tribute to her heroic dead;" adding merely the words "non omnis moriar." How true, how prophetic they are! The name of the poet who first uttered those proud words is as familiar to us to-day as it was to his contemporaries of the Augustan age. The truly great cannot wholly die, for their deeds live after them, and the good which they have wrought remains the permanent inheritance of mankind.

The battle-field is the last resting-place of our honoured dead, but we remember with Perikles that

¹ Schenck's *North Carolina*, 222, 223.

“the whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men; and not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in lands not their own there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone, but in the hearts of men.”¹

The only ornament of this rugged granite block is the beautiful coat-of-arms which Maryland adopted from the armorial bearings of the Lords Baltimore. Its significant motto “Fatti maschi, Parole femine.”—Manly deeds, Womanly words,—suggests the ideal of the knightly character, of the true gentleman; thoroughly brave and masculine, yet gentle and tender as a woman. We proudly believe that it describes the true Marylander, and it may serve as a fitting epitaph for the men who made this spot famous.

The ceremonies of dedication of this monument have vividly recalled the early historic connection between the commonwealths of Maryland and North Carolina; and there has never since been a time when antagonism of interest has placed them in an attitude of hostility. With the same hopes and the same memories, they must always remain united in closest friendship.

“Nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est.”²

¹ Thucydides, II, 43.

² Sallust, *Cat.*, 20, 4.

To the care of the Guilford Battle-Ground Company we have confided the ashes of our valiant dead, and placing this Maryland monument on Carolina soil, we add another link to the golden chain of sentiment which binds together the sister States.

“The silence of a hundred years upon these graves has lain ;
Where sleep our noble heroes, in freedom’s battle slain.
The springtime in its beauty, the summer in its prime,
The dropping leaves of autumn, each gladsome Christmas chime,
Alike have passed unnoted by the quiet slumberers here :
They lie in glory,—let them rest, knowing no pain nor fear.
’Tis ours to rear a granite shaft, ’neath heaven’s o’er-arching
dome,
And link each name with deathless fame for all the years to
come.”



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